systematic excavation of the great series of royal tombs a vast store of 000
archaeological data will be forthcoming. This splendid series, the sequence [172]
of which is known in part, constitutes no doubt the most important
archaeological field in Polynesia.

For the location of places mentioned in this paper refer to Tongan 113
Place Names (25).^

POPULATION

CENSUS DATA

The census for the year 1921 taken by the Tongan police in the month 161
of April, lists 23,759 Tongans, 571 Caucasians, 235 half-castes, 235 individuals 162
from other Pacific islands, and 135 miscellaneous non-Caucasian foreigners.

Intermarriage of Caucasians and full-blooded Tongans is less frequent 563
to-day than formerly, although at no time was such intermarriage common.
To all appearances the Tongan population bids fair to maintain itself in [144]
strength of numbers and purity of blood indefinitely. This situation seems [671]
insured by the fact that ownership of land by foreigners is effectually pro- [423]
hibited by law.

It is the opinion of the late Reverend J. B. Watkin, formerly Presi- 161
dent of the Free Church of Tonga, and a man who could speak with authority
because of his long residence in Tonga, that the population of the three main
island groups of Tonga—Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau—has never exceeded 25,000; an opinion with which I have reason to concur.

The estimate of the Wesleyan missionaries in 1840, cited by Commodore Wilkes (63, vol. 3, p. 29) allows only 18,500 for the population of the whole archipelago, including the outlying Niuatoputapu and Niuafoou islands. It is possible that this is an underestimate, though it must be remembered that the country was still suffering from the internecine wars which began about the end of the eighteenth century. In Table 1, Wilkes' figures for 1840 are given with those for other years up to 1921. For 1922 no detailed figures have been obtained, but according to Stronge (52, pp. 6-7) the excess of births over deaths for that year was 359, which would make the total Tongan population more than 24,000.

ANCIENT DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Tradition speaks of a time when it was possible to communicate from 161
one end of Tongatabu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a 162
state of affairs described as *fanongonongo tokoto* (making proclamation 203
when reclining). Some writers have inferred from this tradition that the 173
population must have been much denser than that of to-day. The area of 000

^ /See 4: Gifford for this source -- Analyst/

and constitute the Haa Motuapuaka. See pages 38, 39.) The other name of Motuapuaka was Molofaha. He is the chief of the present matapule. When the sovereign has a kava ring with the chiefs, this matapule sits at the right side of the sovereign. If he cannot be present, he sends one of his brother matapules to represent him. It is said that these matapules came from Samoa with the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu, who was a Samoan woman, the daughter of a chief named Ama. 643 644 [551]

NGATA AND THE HAA LATU HIFO

The following tale related by Daniel Faupula of Haakio, Vavau, tells of Ngata the first Kanokupolu and two of his "brothers," the three being called the Ulutolu (Three-heads). 643 173

The Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga had three sons, Vaoloa, Halakitaua, and Ngata. Vaoloa's mother was from Nuku's family. Halakitaua's mother from Niukapu's family. Ngata's mother was a woman called Tohuia, a daughter of a Samoan chief named Ama.

When these boys grew up, the Tui Haa Takalaua sent them to the chief Ata [a probable anachronism] in Hihifo to make kava for him. They treated Vaoloa as the highest chief of the first kava ceremony. For the next one, they made Halakitaua the highest chief and the kava consequently belonged to him. At the third kava ceremony, they made the youngest brother, Ngata, the highest chief. The boy was so young he did not know how to command his kava to be returned to his elder brothers in the same way they had given it to him, so he simply remained silent and of course the kava has been his ever since. 643 173 276 574

At the end of the kava ceremony the three boys went back to Fonuamotu where the Tui Haa Takalaua stayed. The Tui Haa Takalaua and his matapule saw the three boys at the distance, and the Tui Haa Takalaua said to the matapule, "Gentlemen, you may see those *ulu tolu* who are coming." *Ulu tolu* means three heads, and this was the origin of the phrase Ulu Tolu as applied to the Tui Kanokupolu and the chiefs Nuku and Niukapu. The three boys told the Tui Haa Takalaua how the kava ceremony had gone. The Tui Haa Takalaua was amused, and said, "It is all right. Let him have your kava, for his mother was a stranger [Samoan] to this place."

The boys grew to be men. Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga sent Vaoloa to live with his mother's people over whom his son became the chief Nuku; and Halakitaua was sent to his mother's people in Haapai, over whom his son became the chief Niukapu in Haapai. He sent Ngata to Hihifo and made him chief of that district, because he was the son of a stranger (Samoan). Ngata became the first Tui Kanokupolu. 643 173

The Ulu Tolu left Fonuamotu. When they got as far as Takoto they were all saying to each other, "Tau mavae a be," which means, "Let us part here." This was the origin of the chiefly name Kaumavae.

The name Haa Latuhifo, which means lineage of descending chiefs, was applied to Vaoloa and Halakitaua because they became lower in rank than Ngata who was made Tui Kanokupolu. This was the origin of the Haa Latuhifo. [613]

When a kava ceremony is held, if Nuku and Niukapu are present, but no higher chief, both preside and one, instead of the usual two, matapule is sufficient. He sits between them. [276] [574]

FIRST FRUITS AND TRIBUTE

All of the land and its products were regarded as the property of the Tui Tonga. In similar fashion, the land within the domain of the Tui Kanokupolu was regarded as his property, but subject, of course, to the demands 643 651 421 423

of the Tui Tonga. Evidently the same relation held between lesser chiefs 643
and the Tui Kanokupolu. The first fruits or the first of any catch of fish 651
or other food had to be presented (*polopolo*) to the chief and to the Tui (421)
Tonga before it could be partaken of even by the producer. (My informant, (423)
Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, had seen the (622)
offerings of first fruits to Laufilitonga, both before and after he had become (124)
a Christian.) If the Female Tui Tonga lived near the male Tui Tonga, a [644]
presentation would be made to her at the same time; but if she lived at a
distance, her share would be forwarded to her by the male Tui Tonga.
Presentations of food produce were also made to the Tamaha. The informant,
Rose Fatafehi, was not certain whether they were made direct to the
Tamaha or through the medium of the Tui Tonga. Those commoners who 643
resided close to the Tui Tonga's residence presented the first of their yams, 622
and also yams on other occasions, directly to the Tui Tonga. But the farmers 651
who were remote from the Tui Tonga presented yams to their own chiefs. [565]
Thus, people living in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu presented yams to
their local chiefs. These chiefs presented a portion of the gift to the Tui
Kanokupolu, who presented a portion to the Tui Haa Takalaua, who in turn
presented a portion to the Tui Tonga. Yams and other products when first
coming into season were carried from as far away as Vavau and presented
to the Tui Tonga (26, p. 180). On board the vessel carrying such a cargo [534]
was a man who continually blew a conch shell trumpet as the vessel passed (202)
inhabited islands. Apparently some individuals were actually appointed to 643
petty offices which involved the supplying of food articles to the Tui Tonga. 463
Thus the man who brought the first yams from Haano Island bore the title 651
Peu. At Manonofeke on Lifuka Island resided an official whose special
business was to catch octopuses for the Tui Tonga and to transport them to
Tongatabu. On Nomuka Island resides a matapule bearing the title of Tei,
who is reported to have become the official *ava* (salmon) catcher about whom
the following account was given:

> Originally the fish were in the custody of a couple named Nomu and Iki, who
> carried them to the Tui Tonga wrapped in lauhala leaves. A man named Tei took to the
> Tui Tonga some of the fish wrapped in sugar cane leaves. The Tui Tonga liked these
> fish and the smell of the sugar cane much better. He therefore gave the custody of
> the *ava* at the Nomuka lagoon to Tei. From that time until the present a Tei has
> been appointed following the death of each incumbent. Though the present Tei no [178]
> longer carries the fish to the Tui Tonga nor to the Tui Kanokupolu, the title goes on.

Behind the giving of first fruits to the chiefs and the king seems to lie 643
a religious sanction. It was believed that by thus presenting first fruits, 622
first fishes, and large pigs to the chiefs, success in various undertakings was 651
insured. One informant said that these were virtually offerings to the gods, 782
but were made to them through the Tui Tonga who "was treated like a god."

matapules, or commoners. However, the terms *eiki* (chief) and *tua* (commoner) 565
are used also in a relative sense. Thus, throughout the Tongan social
structure at its various levels, we find people performing analogous functions,
receiving similar treatment and having like terms applied to them. To cite
polar examples: Tungi, the Prince Consort, is *eiki* to a large district, and of
the two girls Ika and Fakatoumafi (see page 18), Ika is *eiki* to Fakatoumafi.
The district owes deference to Tungi, and Fakatoumafi owes deference to Ika.

Because of primogeniture, it is obvious that the descendants of younger 558
siblings sink in rank. The commoner is the man in a line of descent that [428]
gets further and further from the head of the lineage with each succeeding [613]
generation. Regression is a simpler process than progression and for every
person who rises in rank there are many who correspondingly sink. In a 554
large measure, a person is the victim of the circumstances of his birth; his 565
position in society is predetermined by his parentage, by his sex and by the
order of his birth within the family. In modern Tonga with its constitutional [178]
government and its dual house of parliament there are, of course, possibilities
open to the commoner which were closed to him in former times. But even
in ancient times there is evidence that certain individuals managed to move
up the social ladder slightly above the rung on which the circumstances of
birth appear to have placed them.

For example, Latukefu, a member of the Haa Ngata Motua, is reckoned
as a chief, although by blood he is a commoner. He is Tui Pangai (page 104)
and his business is to examine the plantations of the people and to tapu
food which will be desired by the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs or the Tui Kanokupolu.
Latukefu is not a member of the Haa Ngata Motua by virtue of [597]
descent from the first Tui Kanokupolu, but by the adoption of one of his forefathers [613]
into the lineage. To-day he is recognized as a "brother of all of the
Haa Ngata Motua chiefs." It is said that the original adoption was made because
the Latukefu of that day was quite well off and was a very industrious
agriculturist. This may not be true as anciently a chief might arbitrarily
seize a commoner's goods; there was no necessity of making a chief out of a
commoner merely to utilize his plantation produce, but at any rate, Latukefu
to-day ranks the great matapule Motuapuaka. In the absence of Ahio
and Ata, he is the president of the kava ring of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs.

Theoretically, the highest matapules are ranked by the lowest chiefs and 565
anciently the position was recognized. But to-day the two great matapules [423]
Motuapuka and Lauaki, possess hereditary lands of considerable extent
which places them in a position superior to many chiefs who are without
hereditary lands.

Another factor which brings about a lessening of rank is marriage to 565
women of low rank. One informant said that anciently a young chief might 581
558
[684]

The
inequalities of rank are regarded not as the result of rule imposed by con- 829
querors, but as the result of rules of primogeniture within the family and of 186
differences in ability of chiefs. As one informant put it, "Some men pos- 565
sessed ability to rule and became rulers. The strong man became king, the
wise man became the matapule, the weakling became the commoner." No
doubt this statement is a rationalization, but the belief in community of origin
of the three social classes is prevalent in Tonga to-day. If the country was
ever overrun by conquering immigrants, all memory of their coming has been
effaced. There is, however, ample evidence to show a continual dribbling into [167]
the country of people from surrounding islands.

There is probably less attachment of commoners to their chiefly relatives 565
to-day than there was in the past. In fact, with the absence of internecine 622
warfare and with the freedom bestowed by constitutional government, the
people may move about with greater liberty and need not adhere closely to
their related overlords. However, there is still a strong attachment to the [423]
chiefs and to the land and even with the present system of leasing land the [427]
tendency is for a family to remain attached to the soil, the tract which a
father leased being likewise leased by one of his sons.

To understand the system of apparent servitude which prevailed in Tonga, 565
three features of family relationships should be kept in mind: (a) the 593
superior rank of sisters; (b) the superior rank of older siblings; and (c) 604
the *fahu* idea. To the demands of the *fahu* of a great chief, that chief and his dependants were obliged to accede. Thus all of the descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and to the commoners of that lineage. In other words the whole of the district of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is obliged to yield its best to the great *fahu* of the chiefs of the district, who here is the Prince Consort Tungi.

INDICATIONS OF RANK

The relative rank of individuals is visualized in seating arrangements, 554
particularly in the kava circle, but also in the house, both at meal times and 576
on other occasions.

The head of the household, the family patriarch, called *ulu oe kainga* 592
(*ulu*, head; *oe*, of; *kainga*, related) was accustomed to sit midway between 554
the two house posts (fig. 2, *a*), at the end which he used as a sleeping cham- 574
ber, facing the opposite end. This position was called *matuloki*. All other
sitting places were called *lotofale* (inside house). If the head of the house
ranked all his guests, he maintained his position. His highest ranking
guest sat at his right hand and the next in rank at *c*. The positions *a, b, c,* 592
were reserved for chiefs. Matapules would sit at the other end of the house, 554
d. Commoners would not dare to sit in the house. If the guest should 574
565

walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which 622
the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. 643
To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished [481]
chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it
was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua?*"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to 622
distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, 304
the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to 565
have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show
his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *faefae*) was worn by chiefs during times 622
of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition. 293 721

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) 622
washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui 643
Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was 565
used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them 515
with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public 622
house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman 574
(30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for 345
the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from 622
their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not [421]
fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must [423]
give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and [226]
condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the [687]
chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for [754]
such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from 622
the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from 661
each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned 152
political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and [681]
Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which
the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he ar- [164]
ranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles
and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently
the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

chiefs. One informant said that Loau was probably preceded by the Tui Haa 622
Tuunga, but I rather doubt this, as there was a Tui Haa Tuunga living at 773
Nukunuku during the reign of the second Tui Kanokupolu, in the seventeenth 173
century. The latest reference to Loau seems to connect him with the reign of the twenty-third Tui Tonga, in the fifteenth century.

There are several reasons for believing that Loau belongs to the period 622
before the establishment of the office of Tui Kanokupolu: (a) the Haapai 173
chiefs reputed to be the descendants of Loau have sunk to political insignificance, indicating that the Tui Kanokupolu adherents have eclipsed them; (b) the people who to-day claim descent from the Tui Haa Tuunga have ceased to be noble, a condition attributable to the same cause; (c) the territory ruled by the Tui Haa Tuunga seems to have greatly overlapped Loau's territory and extended as far west as Nukunuku, a feature which suggests, when coupled with the presence of a Tui Haa Tuunga in the Seventeenth Century, that Loau is the earlier of the two titles and that with the disappearance of the Loau title of Tui Haamea, there developed the Tui Haa Tuunga.

Traditionally, it was a Loau who allotted stewards to all Tonga as far as Uvea, and who allotted the first tasks (*fatongia*) among the different peoples—for example, assigning to the people of Tofua the bringing of volcanic stones. This traditional organization of Loau persisted until the coming
of Europeans. King George I, in the Nineteenth Century, reallotted the [178]
land but with scant alteration in the old division. [423]

The forefathers of the chiefs who now live scattered about in the Hihifo and Nukualofa districts are reputed to have lived in Haamea with Loau. The sites of the houses of the various chiefs in Haamea are still known, the mounds on which the houses stood being visible to-day. Some of the present day chiefs know the sites of their predecessors' houses in Haamea—for example, the site of the chief Lasike in Haamea is called Lakepa, as is also one of the villages belonging to him to-day. It seems likely that the chiefs now residing at Vaini and all of the way westward from there had forefathers who lived in Haamea with Loau. Maafu, the present chief of Vaini, owns Tokomololo, which is within the district of Haamea. Within Haamea was a large prairie called the *toafa* of Haamea which extended from Matakieua to Lakepa. The bush in this district is of recent growth.

The water hole in Haamea where Loau drank is still known. The site of the pond where the old legend says he sailed his vessel (26, pp. 139-152) is still to be seen but the place is dry.

Presumably after the disappearance of Loau, Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu, established himself in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu.

rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the 335 622
work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects 342
to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, 166
may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may [465]
build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely [171]
he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so for- 342
tunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect 565
their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty 335
of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular 764
box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits 333
the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same 349
time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception. [565]

FISHING

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a 226
seaside community a *toutai,* to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of 621
the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) 464
to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the *pulepola,* assembled at the appointed place and for two days made preparation. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women,
and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The [643]
pulepola, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which [651]
were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand
in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well [302]
oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the [291]
neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes. [293]

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* 226 621
grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on 423
the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities [438]
did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom 226
essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighbor- 621
ing *tanungapola*. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia* 628

LAND OWNERSHIP

Regarding the ancient systems of land tenure in Tonga, Alexander (1) 423
writes;

> On passing from the three other western groups [New Zealand, Samoa, Fiji] to
> Tonga, we find a remarkable and striking change in political institutions, in land tenure,
> and in social customs. In a word, we are politically, though not geographically, in eastern
> Polynesia. We find no organized village communities or clans, holding lands in common, [621]
> but a fully developed feudal system, and a strong centralized government. The patriarchal [614]
> head of the clan has become a landlord, and the clansmen, bound to their chief by the tie [612]
> of blood relationship, have become his tenants and subjects. From Rev. L. Fison we learn [613]
> that the nation was divided into four main tribes, two of which were further subdivided [619]
> into subtribes.
>
> From the Rev. Thos. West we learn that "the lands were held in fief." The great 643
> landlords held them by hereditary right, but subject to the king, and they in turn sub- 622
> divided them among their kinsmen and followers. It was on the great chiefs that the 423
> king depended for military support, which they willingly rendered him, as the title by [701]
> which they retained their possessions. Through them also the king received a general [651]
> tribute from the people. The chiefs, also in the order, claimed the service or property of [565]
> their tenants. The lowest order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. The [421]
> "Tuas" could not call anything they had their own. The great chiefs could seize on
> whatever took their fancy. Besides, the king or his representatives could assess labor
> upon the whole community whenever he pleased. The chiefs also claimed a share of all [464]
> the fish taken by their tenants. The most servile homage was rendered to them as in the [226]
> Society and Hawaiian islands. On a father's death his property descended to his children. [171]
> On the mother's death her property remained with her husband and children, not excepting [428]
> her *dower* land, which did not revert to her own kindred as in the other western groups,
> where Tribal tenure prevailed.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 412) says:

> The orders, or classes, amongst their Chiefs, or those who call themselves such,
> seemed to be almost as numerous as amongst us; but there are few, in comparison, that
> are lords of large districts of territory; the rest holding their lands under those principal
> barons, as they may be called. I was, indeed, told, that when a man of property dies, 428
> everything he leaves behind him falls to the king; but that it is usual to give it to the 643
> eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision, out of it, for the rest
> of the children. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the son, the moment he is [171]
> born, to take from the father the homage and title; but he succeeds to them, at his
> decease; so that their form of government is not only monarchical, but hereditary.

MODERN LANDED NOBLES

Thomson (54, pp. 230, 231) has the following to say concerning land 423
tenure:

> Chief among the purely Tongan enactments of the new code were the land laws. In 423
> former times the soil of Tonga was vested in the Tui Tonga—the spiritual chief. The 643
> great nobles and small cultivators held their lands from him, and he had theoretically the 565
> right to dispossess them at will. When the office of Tui Tonga became vacant, and the 178
> title was absorbed by the present king, the people readily adopted the idea that all the land
> was vested in the Crown, who had the power to grant holdings in return for taxes. But 622
> in 1888, Mr. Baker, acting either under pressure from the chiefs, or spontaneously wishing [427]

to create a landed aristocracy, foolishly caused the king to grant large estates, which he 423
called "inheritances," to a number of hereditary lords, who were to receive from the 643
tenants a rental of $1 per annum for each holding of about eight acres. In dealing with
the land I could not hope to rid myself of these superfluous landlords, but I could, without 565
evoking dangerous opposition, deprive them of all power over their estates. I determined 178
to make the Crown collect their rents and pay it over to them, while reserving to itself all 622
rights of granting allotments and evicting tenants. Thus for all practical purposes the 427
land still belonged to the State; for so long as the rents were paid to the lords of the manor, the Government was virtually the landlord, and the king had voluntarily made over to the Treasury all rents due upon the lands not included within any "inheritance."

The following is the list of "hereditary" lands (*tofia*) granted, not in 423
1888, but on October 24, 1882, and increased by George II on August 24, 643
1894. These seem to include the ancient seats of the chiefs involved. In 622
other words, George I merely confirmed the great chiefs in the holding of their forefathers' fiefs. For example, Fonoifua Island anciently belonged to a Tui Afitu (26, p. 68), on whom it was bestowed by his wife, a Female Tui Tonga; Tungua Island anciently belonged to Tui Haa Teiho. Through a list published by the Tongan Government on March 3, 1919, Queen Charlotte again confirmed the holders of "hereditary" lands in their fiefs. Figure 4 shows the hereditary lands (*tofia*) of the island of Tongatabu.

1. Tungi. From Mua following the road (or trench) straight to the weather 423
shore in the northern part of Hahake. Havelu, Fatumu, Lavengatonga, and Haata- 643
kalaua belong to this estate, and Fuaamotu, Kaiavale, Haatui, Navutoka (which Malupo 622
gave up), and Toi. All are in Tongatabu Island.
2. Kalanivalu (Fakaua). Lapaha, Hamula, and Toloa are included, but not Hoi, 551
Nukuleka, and Haameneuli. All in Tongatabu. Pangia is now the holder. 103
3. Fatafehi, the Tui Pelehake. Pelehake in Tongatabu, Haatalafale in Haapai, and Haatalafale in Vavau.
4. Nuku. Kolonga, Poha, and Kotongo, all in Tongatabu Island.
5. Niukapu. Fangaleounga, Foa Island, Haapai.
6. Maafu. The inland side of the road to Tokomololo, and Vaini, Tongatabu Island.
7. Lavaka. Fualu and Pea, Tongatabu Island.
8. Fielakepa. Havelu, Tongatabu Island.
9. Ata. Kolovai, Tongatabu Island; Atata Island.
10. Veehala. Fahefa, Tongatabu Island, and Pangai, Eua Island.
11. George Ulukalala. Hihifo, Vavau Island.
12. Tui Haa Teiho. Tungua and Matu'ku islands, Haapai; Haateiho, Tongatabu Island; Haateiho, Uiha Island, Haapai; Haateiho, Vavau Island.
13. Tui Haa Ngana. Haano, Pukotala, and Muitoa, Haano Island, Haapai.
14. Malupo. Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai; Takaamoatoa and Teleki, Vavau Island.
15. Fotofili. Alele and the western side of the road in Angaha; and Ahau, Palau, and Haaholoo, Niuafoou Island.
16. Maatu. Vaipoa and Hihifo, Niuatoputapu Island; but Falehau and Matavai, Niuatoputapu Island, and Tafahi Island, are not included.
17. Luani. Nakolo, Malapo, and Fetoa in Tongatabu; Tefisi, Vavau Island.
18. Tui Lakepa. Talasiu, Tongatabu Island; Ofu and Okoa islands, Vavau group; and Vasivasi, Hunga Island, Vavau group.
19. Tui Afitu. Makave, Vavau Island; Holopeka, Lifuka Island, Haapai; and Fonoifua Island, Haapai.
20. Vaea. Houma, Tongatabu Island.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

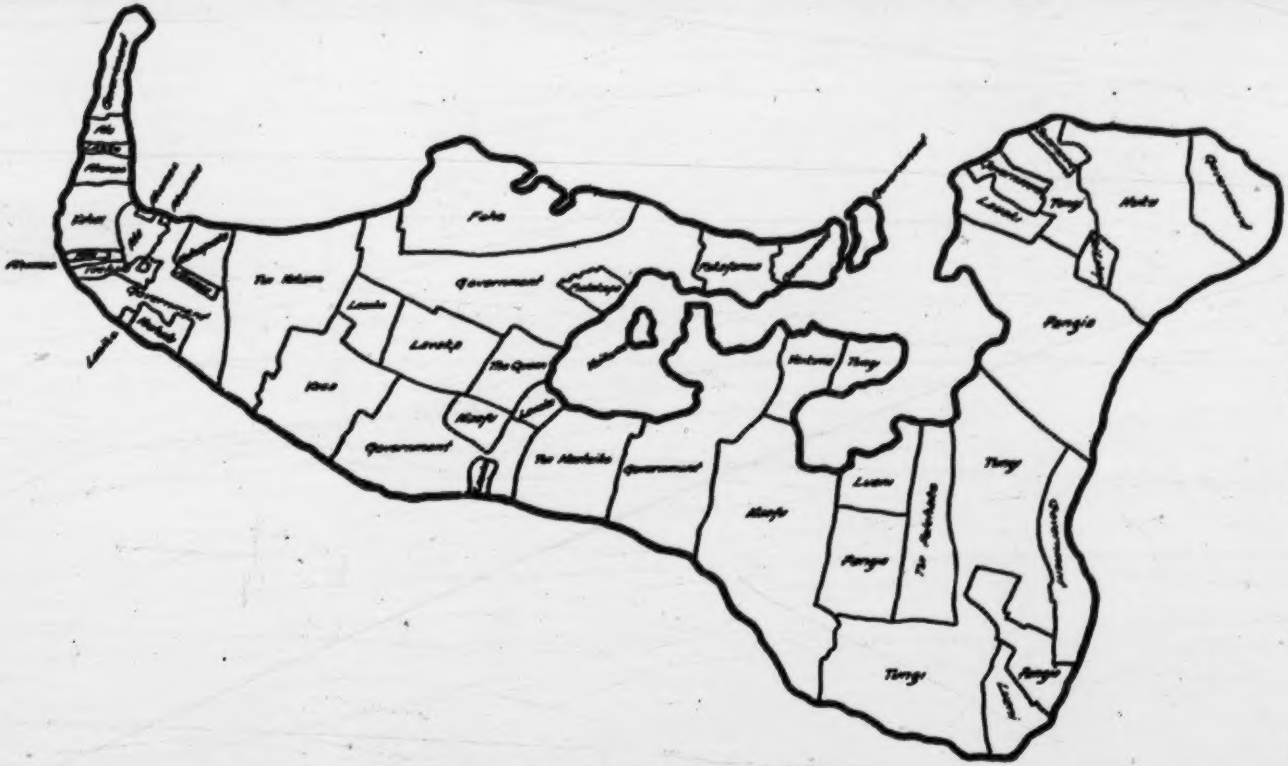
Faka
Government
Lavaka
The Queen
Vaea
Maufa
Government
Fakafanua
Government
Maufa
Luani
Fangio
Tungi
Nuku
Tungi
Tungi
Luani
Government

Figure 4.—Hereditary lands of nobles in Tongatabu.

102
423
131
643
622
103

21. Fakafanua. Maufanga, Tongatabu Island; Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai; and 423
Ngaakau, Vavau Island. 643
22. Vahai. Foui, Tongatabu Island; Taanea, Vavau Island. 622
23. Tui Vakano. Nukunuku, Tongatabu Island.
24. Ahomee. Haavakatolo, Tongatabu Island; Utui, Vavau Island. 551
25. Fulivai. Hunga Island, Vavau group; Fangalepa and Lotoniha, Vavau Island. 103
26. Lutui. Falevai, Kapa Island, Vavau. (Lutui now called Fakatulolo.)
27. Tangipa. Mahinafekite, Niuatoputapu Island.
28. Fusitua. Faletanu and the eastern side of the road in Angaha, and Maufanga, Niuafoou Island.
29. Tuita. Kolokimuli, Tongatabu Island; Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau; Utungake and Haafakahenga, near Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai; and Futu, Niuafoou Island.
30. Fohe. Puke, Tongatabu Island.
31. Motuapuaka. Teekiu, Tongatabu Island; Haufolau, Utungake Island, Vavau.
32. Lauaki. Talafoou, Tongatabu Island; Masilamea, Vavau Island.
33. Afu. Haalaufuli, Vavau Island.
34. Fotu. Leimatua, Vavau Island.
35. Tuuhetoka. Haafeva Island, Haapai.
36. Akauola. Taunga and Fonuaoneone (see below) islands, Vavau.
37. Lasike. Lakepa in Ahau, Lakepa in Neiafu, Lakepa in Haatau, Lakepa in Kalaau, Lakepa in Haamea, Lakepa in Navutoka, Fonongahina, Tafangafanga in Hahake, Tongatabu Island; Lakepa in Eua Island.
38. Veikune. His hereditary lands in Tongatabu group: 1, Longoteme and Matamoana, Tongatabu Island; 2, Oneata Island; 3, Kanatea Island. His hereditary lands in Vavau: 1, Paleaoau at Fongotofe, Vavau Island; 2, Talahuo, inland side of road of Fongotofe; 3, Lolopipi, between Ngaakau and Vaimalo; 4, Longomapu; 5, Kolotahi Island; 6, Haakoka and Fangaeva.

In the reign of Queen Charlotte, "hereditary" lands were granted as follows:

36. To Akauola, the island of Fonuaoneone, Vavau group.
39. To the great chief Tupoutoa (formerly John Mateialona), a portion of the island of Eua.

Of 39 "inheritance" holders, all are chiefs except Nos. 26, 31, 33, 34, 423
and 36, who are matapules, and No. 35, who is conflictingly classified as 622 565
both matapule and chief.

It is said that neither the Tui Tonga nor the Tui Haa Takalaua granted 643
fiefs to their matapule. The modern matapule hold fiefs given them by King 423
George I to show his gratitude and to show that he "acted differently" from 644
his predecessors, the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Informants were agreed that anciently all land was the Tui Tonga's and 643
was bestowed by him upon the various chiefs. It seems to have been the 423
custom that land so bestowed remained indefinitely in the recipient's family, 622
each succeeding holder of his title being confirmed in tenure. Much the 624
same scheme seems to have held for the tracts allotted to matapules and com- 644 565
moners. The normal procedure was for the sons to live upon the land where 428
their father had dwelt. A chief, however, could dispossess his commoners 591
at any time, or transfer them from one part of his land to another, even 565
though they opposed the move.

though they opposed the move. A chief's *fahu* might share in the land of 643 622
his deceased mother's brother if he wished. There seems to have been less 423 565
value set on land anciently than at the present day. 604 178

From the standpoint of tenancy the tracts comprise (1) *tofia*, "hereditary" 423
lands of the chiefs and modernly of certain matapules; (2) *api* (rendered *abbey* by some early writers), field either with or without an enclosing fence; (3) *api-kolo*, town lot—a modern development. The term *lotoa* (*ladore* of some earlier writers), designates a fenced enclosure smaller than an *api* and usually next a dwelling. A fenced *api* is called *lotoapi*.

The following anecdotes exemplify the Tongan attitude with regard to 643
the sovereign's ownership of all land. 423

When parcelling out and confirming the tenure of the lands now held by 622
the various nobles, King George I asked Ata (great-grandfather of the present Ata) where his hereditary lands lay. Ata replied that he had none, that all land belong to the king. The king then told him to take certain portions of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and to call his place of residence Kolovai. Formerly Kolovai was called Pangai and was the seat of the earlier Tui Kanokupolu.

A man named Lolohea parcelled out land on Foa Island among the people at the request of King George I. A piece called Pangai was left over. The king assigned this to Lolohea, saying: "It belonged to your forefathers."

The island of Koloa, Vavau, once the Tui Tonga's personal property, [729]
was given by George I to Toamotu, a chief, in reward for war services. [555]
There is a long series of similar allotments apparently based on ancient practice. Such allotments did not entail alienation of the land. It was still the
king's, but was to be used by the subject to whom allotted. Even cemetery [764]
sites were bestowed by George I.

THE PERSONAL LANDS OF THE TUI TONGA

According to a list compiled for King George II by Tafolo, scion of 643
the Tui Tonga family, tracts specifically set aside as personal lands of the 423
Tui Tonga comprise 7 on Tongatabu Island, 12 on Lifuka Island, and 7 103
on islands in the Vavau group. There are similar personal lands of the Tui Kanokupolu.

Tui Tonga tracts in Tongatabu Island are: Fangaoneone in Mua, Utuleva in Mua, various tracts near Lapaha, Veifoa, Ualako in the Hahake district, Pipi, Hhameneuli.

Tui Tonga tracts in Lifuka Island, Haapai are: Otufanga, Ahofakasiu, Vainafa, Talaufanga, Vailupesia, Vaiola, Olovehi, Matamoana, Utulaaina, Finevalapililolo, Vakataumai, Nakolovou, all of which except Nakolovou are near Tongoleleka—a part of the modern village of Hihifo. Nakolovou is near the modern village of Pangai.

Tui Tonga tracts in the Vavau group are: Koloa Island; Vaipoa, Vavau 643
Island; Tamamualoto, Vavau Island; Vakataumai, Kapa Island; Pulinitu, 423
near Haalaufuli, Vavau Island; Hauofa, between Haakio and Lafoou, Vavau 103
Island; Lavengahau, near Ngaakau, Vavau Island.

BOUNDARIES

In Tonga trees and ancient roads commonly served as boundary marks 423
instead of stones, which are too readily moved. Land hunger is one of the [285]
failings of the Tongans and to-day, when a noble dies, his neighbors, if [768]
possible, encroach on his *tofia*, making haste to do so before his successor
is appointed and trusting that the new owner will be ignorant of the true
boundaries. Many present day nobles are averse to having their hereditary [659]
lands surveyed by the government surveyor because this would prevent
further boundary shifting.

The *ngatae* (*Erythrina indica*) seems to have been the favorite tree for 423
marking boundaries because it grows rapidly. Coconut, *koka* and *buko* 824
trees formed more permanent boundaries, usually replacing the *ngatae* when [137]
it died. I heard that the word *ngatae* is a modern rendering of *ngatahe*
which means boundary and anciently designated the tree as well. Thus
when the Tui Kanokupolu allotted a piece of land to a follower, he said
"Ngatahe," meaning that the follower should mark the boundary by planting
ngatahe trees.

ABSENCE OF TRUE COMMUNAL LANDS

Anciently there seems to have been no lands that were, strictly speaking, 423
communal. Perhaps the nearest approach to a communal tract was the [311]
malae or green in proximity to the house or houses of a chief, an enclosed
lawn which was used as a place of ceremonial meetings, dances, and entertainments,
such as boxing and wrestling. As now used, the term *malae*
applies to a chief's burial place (the common use in eastern Polynesia) and
to the lawn area adjacent to any house.

An example of modern communal tenancy was noted in Lifuka Island. 423
Although the tract (*api*) Fiehua belongs to the Queen, in 1920 it was used 311
as a communal field for the village of Pangai, each man in Pangai having
a small section in which to plant sweet potatoes. When the potatoes were [651]
harvested, a number of basketsful were presented to the queen. However,
the coconuts which grew in this field were not the property of the townspeople.
Copra was made from the nuts by the queen's caretaker, a matapule [245]
named John Tuione, who usually received half of the proceeds, sometimes [649]
all.

FISHING RIGHTS

The nearest approach to true communal rights lay in fishing grounds. 423
The rights to fishing, whether close to shore or further out, belonged to 226
those living on the adjacent coast. Most chiefs had land fronting on the [622]
water where their fishing operations were conducted. Every "commoner" [565]
who lived on a tract bordered by water could fish along his waterfront.
The inland man without a waterfront on which to fish usually had "*tofia* [438]
brothers" (men under the same chief) living on the shore who supplied fish
in return for yams, fruit, taro, and other inland products.

Sometimes an inland man poached at his own risk on another's water- 423
front. If apprehended, his traps might be destroyed and his fish con- 226
fiscated. Sometimes, if fish were hard for inlanders to obtain, a large party 685
would fish in force and depend upon their allied strength to protect them.
But even then, the poaching would take place on the waterfrontage of the [622]
poachers' own chief.

If, as sometimes happened, a man fished in a canoe before the lands of 423
a chief other than his own, he would then present his first catch (a large 622
number of fish) to the chief, who might then allow the man to continue 226
fishing for the day. A story is told of an inland man who fished in a
canoe before the *tofia* of the first Tungi. When he landed his canoe, Tungi
himself confronted him, bit each fish on the back of the neck and said,
"These fish are mine."

At variance with these assertions are the statements of Okoa informants 423
that the people of their island might fish anywhere in Vavau, and that 226
claim to a fishing place is established by setting up on the reef a stick with
a leaf attached—such a statement probably pertains to modern conditions
only. Another example of communism at Okoa, which is probably modern, 423
is the use of a boat of one or two tons burden which belongs to the whole 226
village. The boat may be used by individuals for fishing. If the catch is 501
large it is shared with fellow villagers, and in any event the mayor is given 621
part of the catch. 622

The stone dam (*pae*) built across a channel outlet to a pool on the reef, 423
to trap the fish seeking the sea on the outgoing tide, was said to be the 226
property of the family group occupying the adjoining tract.

COMMUNAL FENCES, CISTERNS, AND WELLS

Another example of communal effort, at least in modern Tonga, is the 423
fence (*afonua*) which surrounds some villages to prevent the pigs straying 417
into the neighboring plantations and uprooting the plants. Each taxpayer 361
in a village has a certain length of fence to keep in repair. 231
621

Cisterns (*lepa*) for conserving rain water for drinking purposes were 312
no doubt shared by several families, though owned by the chiefs. The an- 423
cient type of cistern, which has now been replaced by a concrete cistern, was [622]
a hole about ten feet deep, dug near a house. The sides and bottom of [178]
this hole were beaten with the trunk of a banana tree until they were hard
and waterproof. Water was lead from the roof of the house by means of [414]
spouts made of bamboo sticks split in halves.

Dug wells, like clay-lined cisterns, were owned by the chiefs. (See p. [622]
124.) These were used as bathing places, fresh or brackish water for this [515]
purpose being much appreciated. Each chief usually had such a bathing [565]
place near his residence. He might allow his matapule to use it also, but
not his commoners. Women had special bathing places. A well or cistern [562]
for bathing was called *vaikaukau*. Many of them bore names (25). One [515]
just northwest of Nukualofa belongs to the chief Lomu. [552]

NOTES ON LAND HOLDINGS

EUA

It is said that originally the northern part of the Eua Island was held 423
by Manumua, anciently a chief of Eua, who was attached to the court of 622
the Tui Tonga, and the southern part by another chief named Vakauta, 173
but that later chiefs from Tongatabu other than the governors sent by the 103
Tui Tonga obtained portions. Both original owners seem to have assigned
portions of their holdings to later comers, as the following records show:

Tuanuku, a tract at the southern end of Eua was so named for Havea Tuanuku, younger brother of a former chief Nuku of Tongatabu, who came to Eua in the Eighteenth Century to be matapule to the governor Tukuaho. Manumua gave the tract to Havea Tuanuku and it is held to-day by one of Havea's descendants.

A Tui Kanokupolu came to Houma in Eua Island on a vacation (*takataka i Houma*; literally, walking about in Houma) and begot by a Houma woman a son whom he named Tupou Takatakaihouma and who was called for short Taka. Manumua gave the lad Houma, the north end of the island for his *tofia*.

Manumua gave as a *tofia* to Hama, a soothsayer (*tongafisi*), who came from the Tui Haa Takalaua, a tract which included Ofilei and Sipangai and adjoined that of Taka. Hama also had an *api* called Halahu, at the southern end of the island. The particular spot where he lived is called Matakiata (Seeing-to-Ata), because in his capacity of *tongafisi* he discovered Ata Island. He told his son to go to Ata.

The modern chief Hafoka of Eua, a relative of Veehala of Tongatabu, says that the holdings that were once his forefathers' are now vested in Veehala, who receives the rents from them. Kalau Island, south of Eua, once belonged to Hafoka and was utilized by the people of Haaluma, a former hamlet in Hafoka's *tofia* near the southern end of Eua. It was deserted in Christian times and its people now live in Ohonua.

TONGATABU

Formerly all the Haa Havea chiefs, as well as the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, had pieces of land in Hihifo. The Haa Havea chiefs received their

land as descendants of Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu, the Haa 423
Ngata Motua chiefs already having land there. The tracts formerly be- 622
longing to the Haa Havea have now passed to Ata who is the hereditary lord. 103

The tract Vaoleleva, which is situated near Huatolitoli in the Hahake 173
district, Tongatabu, was given by the Tui Tonga to Lavaka-vaoleleva and
Ahomee. It was named after Lavaka-vaoleleva in gratitude for his hospi-
tality to the Tui Tonga on the occasion when the Tui Tonga's preparations
for a voyage to Vavau were delayed by a great famine in Tongatabu. On [251]
this occasion the meals were prepared from two great (breadfruit?) storage
pits, of which there were many in the tract.

Following the slaying of the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea in 1799,
a man named Tongalava is reputed to have removed the body to Mua from
a rock on which his slayers had placed it. At Mua it lay in state in a [764]
funerary house (*tolia*) for six months, while the royal tomb Langi Loamanu
was being erected. After the funeral the relatives of the deceased gave three [764]
parcels of Mulikihaamea's land to Tongalava, in gratitude for his service. [431]
The parcels are the tracts Toutai, Toutai II, and Tatai. These were to be
forever the property of his descendants, the donors said.

HAAPAI

The following narrative concerning land ownership in Haapai is told 173
by Tevita Tunai, of Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai. 643
648
484

> When they were preparing for the Tui Tonga's trip to Samoa the people gathered 431
> presents for this trip and then Helu brought the presents and the chiefs sailed. When
> they arrived in Samoa they distributed the presents and the Samoans were pleased
> with the presents that Helu gave them. When the expedition returnd to Tonga, the
> Tui Tonga told Helu to choose anything he liked as a reward for his efficient services. 643
> Helu told the Tui Tonga just to give him a little piece of land. The Tui Tonga said, 431
> "Come and carry me." Then they went up to a hill called Toloke in Haano Island, 423
> and they turned back from there and then the Tui Tonga asked, "How is this?" Helu 173
> replied, "Go on to the promotory (*muifonua*) at Fakakakai."
>
> Then Helu said, "Give me the promontory Houmatala," and Helu was satisfied
> when this was done.
>
> Helu died and was buried in Lotofoa in a cemetery called Monotapu. The first [212]
> Tungi told Tooi and Niulala to remove Helu's bones to Houmatala to bear witness
> that that is Helu's land, and then they cut a stone and inscribed the name and the date
> and the year. This stone was set up as a witness that the promontory was Helu's. The
> Tui Haa Takalaua was the immediate overlord anciently. The brother of the present
> Helu (who is mayor of Lotofoa) was matapule to the first Tungi, who replaces the
> abolished Tui Haa Takalaua line.

VAVAU

Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, claimed unsuccessfully the island of Ma- 423
fana in the Vavau group upon the following basis: 428
173

This island belonged to Tokemoana, the son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II. 423
The son of Tokemoana was Toutaitokotaha. The son of Toutaitokotaha was Sisitoutai. 428
The daughter of Sisitoutai was Tongahaapai. The son of Tongahaapai was Joel Maatu 173
(father of the Maatu of 1921). Mafana was claimed by Maatu, who is in the female line, because male descendents of Tokemoana were lacking.

Ulukalala, one of the great chiefs of Vavau, tried also to claim it, saying 423
that his father Matekitonga owned it. 173

Other stories of land titles in Vavau follow:

Near Makave, Vavau Island, is a peninsula called Utuatea, connected with the mainland by a low isthmus. It is said that formerly this connecting isthmus was absent and the peninsula was an island called Utuatea. When the chief of the district, Tui Afitu, held a big feast of any kind, both Makave and Utuatea had to prepare ovens of food for him. The people thought this to be too great a drain upon them, so they decided to make one place of Makave and Utuatea. This they did by filling in the channel between the small and large islands in a single night and planting trees on the filled area in the morning.

Another version of this story is told:

The island Utuatea was formerly owned by a *toutai* (navigator or fisher) of the Tui Tonga whose name was Fia. Tui Afitu, chief of Makave, wanted to possess this island, so he had his people work all one night to fill in the dividing gap. The trees were planted on it on the following morning. When Fia heard of how Tui Afitu had established his claim, he was afraid to complain and left it in the chief's possession.

A Vavau informant, Tea, told of the bestowal of land upon one of his forefathers:

Atulutuhepalelei had two children who were Teala and Muka. Teala had a daughter
named Siuvakalelei. On one occasion they went out to sea to fish for bonitos with [226]
hook and line. They were caught in a squall and drifted far to sea. Fortunately they sighted land. This land was the island of Vavau. They went from there to Tonga and lived with the Tui Haa Takalaua. Siuvakalelei grew up to be a beautiful woman. The Tui Haa Takalaua fell in love with her, so he asked Teala for the hand of his daughter. They were married and after a while Siuvakalelei gave birth to a boy who was called Tupouutamolalo. The two old men (Teala and Muka) asked the Tui Haa Takalaua to name the boy Atulutuhepalelei, after the Tui Haa Takalaua's navigator. He did so.

Motuapuaka's seat at the kava drinking is on the right, so the Tui Haa Takalaua took a *tuaniu* (the hard stem which supports the individual leaves in a coconut frond) and stuck it in the ground at the left. This is why Atulutuhepalelei was called Lutui, as his navigator. Atulutupalelei married and begot offspring. The first one was Teala to whom Falevai on the island of Kapa was given by the Tui Kanokupolu Tui Halafatai, who was saved from drowning near Vavau by this Teala. Tui Halafatai's ship was in a distress at sea near Vavau when Teala went to the rescue and took the ship's people to Falevai. The chief appreciated this noble deed, so he turned and said to Teala, "I have no wealth to give you as the token of our gratitude, but I shall give you Falevai here in the Vavau group; the *api* called Haatua at Nukuleka in Tongatabu; and the *api* Tokelau in Nomuka Island, Haapai. Another grandson (presumably brother of Teala) of the Tui Haa Takalaua was called Inukavaatua. Tokemoana gave his wife to marry Inukavaatua, that he might get a matapule from their children. Lapulou (wife of Tokemoana?) later gave birth to a boy who was called Abraham, to one who was called Veamalohi, and to one who was called Tupatongafisi. Still later she gave birth to another male child who was called Lutui. He was the youngest. This

Lutui was the grandfather of the present Lutui. Veamalohi or Tokelau Malohi was 423
the ancestor of Tea of to-day. 173

INHERITANCE OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

Wealth (*koloa*) took the form of mats, tapa, and other manufactured 428
articles. When a man died his *koloa* was divided by his father's sister
(*mehekitanga*) or his oldest living sister, among the near relatives on both
sides of the family, the sister's son receiving the biggest share. Sometimes
the relatives came and picked out what they wanted. All *ngatu* tapa and [764]
ngafingafi mats were buried with the dead. This buried wealth is called
koloa kekekele.

ADMINISTRATION

The north-south trend of the Tongan archipelago renders communica- 643
tion easy during the time that the Trade Winds blow. Wilson (66, p. liv) 484
says that most, if not all of the islands, were regularly visited by the [132]
"sovereign or commander in chief" and that the rulers kept in touch with
the rank and file of the population in remote islands, not only through the
local governors and stewards, but also by personal visits. Much the same
scheme prevails in modern Tonga, for occasionally the sovereign, and more
frequently high officials such as the chief justice, voyage to the parts of
the kingdom remote from Tongatabu. 621

Although commoners had absolutely no voice in governmental affairs 643
they were assembled in what is called a *fono,* to hear orders from the chiefs. 642
Anciently the *fono* was employed as a means for telling the people what to 565
do in connection with work or war. Every adult in a district had to attend. 622
At such gatherings the chiefs and their matapules did the talking; common- [641]
ers could not speak and had no representatives. Such also is the practice [624]
in modern Tonga. Chiefs and sometimes matapules had a voice in decisions, [624]
though usually it was the duty of the matapule merely to convey the chief's
orders to the people. It is obvious that a Tongan *fono* was different from a [171]
Samoan *fono,* which was a deliberative parliamentary gathering.

The chiefs of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu would have an inde- 622
pendent *fono* so far as work in Hihifo was concerned but would probably 621
consult the chiefs of the Hahake district and the Tui Tonga in a subject 643 634
concerning the whole island, as for instance, war.

There were meetings (*fakataha*) of chiefs and of matapules to discuss 622 624
arrangements for various undertakings, such as a funeral feast. A meet-
ing of this nature was not a *fono.*

Compulsory labor (*fatongia*) dates from early times. No pay was 466
given but apparently food was supplied. It was a sort of corvee system

[Niuatoputapu Island]

Chiefs and braves (*toa*) of Niuatoputapu formerly singed their hair 565
short with a burning coconut stem (the part from which the nut is sus- 302
pended), while other men wore their hair long like women.

According to the Maatu I interviewed the land was divided out to the 622
various chiefs by Maatu, who created the chiefs and their titles. After some 634
had held their land for a time they would "get cheeky," so that Maatu would 423
have to fight them again. The chiefs made presents of food and other prod- 622
ucts to Maatu continually. The commoners were "like dogs" and were 634 565
called *tua*. The matapules of Niuatoputapu, like those elsewhere in the Ton- 622
gan kingdom, did the chief's bidding with regard to the distribution of food, 624
kava, etc. A matapule who made a mistake in serving kava would be clubbed. [276]
If, however, the matapule chanced to be the grandson of Maatu (that is the [689]
issue of a marriage of one of Maatu's relatives with a person of matapule
rank) he would not be punished. In 1920 there was living at Niuatoputapu
an officiating matapule, who was eighty-nine years old.

Maatu and his family constituted the *houeiki*. Below them were the 634
chiefs and other people who were allotted pieces of land by Maatu. These 622
were called *kaumaatua*. One of them acted as regent in the absence of 565
Maatu. When one of Maatu's matapules begot a son of a woman of a place [554]
ruled by a *kaumaatua* (petty chief), that son acted as the matapule to that
petty chief, who would be either his maternal grandfather or his maternal
uncle. When an older Maatu (presumably Ngongo) fought the petty chiefs 634
and conquered them he retracted their titles and lands. These were restored 622 423
by Maatu No. 9. The retraction of titles and lands occurred with every 554
title bearer except Motuapala, who officiated at Maatu's oven, presumably as
a sort of matapule. The matapule title of Sika was taken from a conquered 634
matapule and has now been bestowed upon a person of Maatu's family. 565
Sika is the principal matapule of Maatu to-day. He is also matapule to the 554
Tui Kanokupolu when the Tui Kanokupolu visits Niuatoputapu.

There is no doubt but what the power of Maatu in the Niuatoputapu 634
group has been diminished within the last half century, for a certain portion 178
of the island is now claimed by the Tongan government. In other words it
was regarded as crown land. This land was obtained by the Tui Kanoku- [643]
polu George I, evidently as a part of his policy of everywhere strengthening
his hold and of increasing the cohesion of his kingdom. Under just which
Maatu George I secured his holdings in Niuatoputapu I do not know. Since
the death of the Maatu whom I met in 1920 and 1921, an eleventh incum-
bent has perhaps been appointed, although as to this I have not heard.
Presumably the Queen of Tonga has filled the vacancy if a suitable heir [643]
has been forthcoming.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

484 catching them, owing to the greater number of
[226 reefs and shelves. With this canoe, a certain
133] chief, named Mahe Boogoo, departed for Hapai,
where he possessed a large property, on
423 which he was desirous to reside for the future.
[594 He had also a plantation at Vavaoo, situated
431 on the northern coast, about a mile and a half
634] long, and half a mile broad, one end of which
ran down close to the water's edge: this property
823 he made a present of to the king. It will
be proper to give a description of this plantation, because it includes, near the sea, the most romantic spot in all the Tonga islands; which constitutes the subject of many of their songs, and is a place of resort to the young and old of both sexes, who wish to enjoy, for a few hours, the luxury of romantic scenery: it is famous, also, for having been, at a former epoch, the scene of an enterprising action on the part of some young chiefs, who took refuge there from their adversaries, and obstinately held their position for six months.

It happens that nature has assembled in this
133 spot, not only the wildest profusion of the vegetable
137 kingdom, over which the lofty *toa* tree
stands pre-eminent, but also objects of another description, overhanging rocks, hollow-sounding caverns, and steep precipices, calculated to give an aspect as bold and sublime as the ima-

226 month of July, when the natives flock to this
285 plantation for the purpose of catching them,
where having procured a quantity, they take
them home to their families in baskets made of
plaited leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Mahe Boogoo, the chief to whom this valu-
423 able piece of ground belonged, being about to
431 go and reside at the Hapai islands, made a pre-
634 sent of this delightful spot to the king. Mr.
Mariner, having now nothing particular in
727 which to employ himself, the war being at an
423 end, begged of the king to give up this planta-
425 tion to him, that he might amuse himself by
634 seeing it properly cultivated: to this the king,
651 after a little hesitation, consented; when Mr.
609 Mariner requested the farther favour that he
might be exempt from all taxes, that no chief
might despoil his plantation, under pretext of
levying any species of contribution; and this
exemption, he observed, would be no more than
what was consistent with the Tonga custom,
which exacts no contribution from foreigners,
unless indeed it be upon some sacred occasion,
as the ceremony of *ináchi*, &c. To this also
the king gave his assent, upon mutual agree-
ment, that the whole plantation was to be con-
sidered at Finow's service, as being the father
and protector of Mr. Mariner, but that he
would not take any thing nor trespass upon it

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

in any way without Mr. Mariner's consent, [127] who was to regulate every thing regarding it 423 just as he pleased, and was henceforth to consider 634 it as his property, together with all the [425] persons who worked on it, consisting of thirteen men and eight women. To these the king gave orders they should pay the same attention and respect to Mr. Mariner as to himself or their former chief; he moreover informed the *matooa*, or overseer, that he had invested Mr. Mariner with full power to dispatch any of them with the club that failed in their duty, or neglected in any respect to shew proper attention to their new master. To this, in the usual form, they all returned thanks to the king for the new chief he had been pleased to appoint over them, and expressed their hopes that they should never deserve punishment by any want of respect towards the "stranger chief." As [431] soon as Mr. Mariner entered upon his new possessions, he gave orders to get ready a large bale of gnatoo, which he sent to Finow as a present.

About this time Mr. Mariner was very near [127] being devoured by a shark. One of his servants [226] that worked upon the plantation had laid pots about four feet deep in the water for the purpose of catching cray-fish, and Mr. Mariner one afternoon dived down to examine them, in

REMARKS ON THE GAZETTEER

In compiling the list of Tongan place names, the following information, 128
when available, is recorded: (1) the feature to which the name is applied; (2) the group of islands in which the feature occurs; (3) the island on which the place is located; (4) the village near which it is located; (5) the name of the landlord; (6) the meaning of the name; and (7) miscellaneous data.

102
361

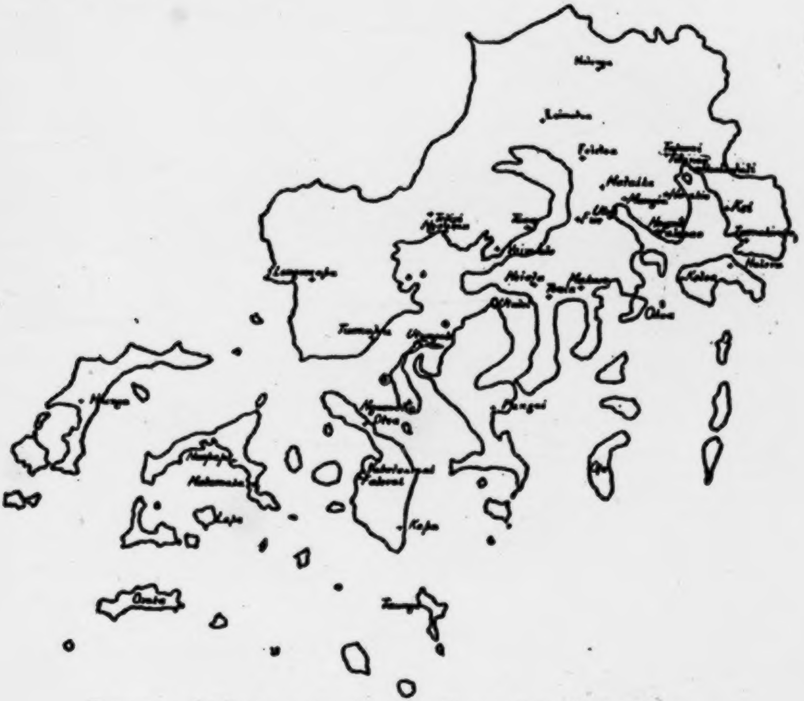

FIGURE 1.—Outline map showing the villages of the Vavau group.

In the Gazetteer the largest number of names are of tracts (*api*) and 103
village tracts (*apikolo*) and were obtained from the Tongan land office [127]
records. The tracts are the farm lands of the population, and each tract [423]
listed is today held by a Tongan tenant. Most of the tract names seem
to be ancient. Not so the village tract names, many of which are of for- 361
eign countries; for village life in Tonga is only a century and a quarter 178
old, the population formerly dwelling scattered over the land. Civil war, [103]
[241]

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

convenience in attending frequent church services, and the copra trade are 361
probably the chief factors responsible for the growth of the villages and 178
for the degeneration of agriculture. Today the Tongan resides in a village 241
from which he makes the necessary excursions to his farm. Anciently he resided
on the farm (*api*) and there were no villages. Needless to say, the
extent of cultivated land is much diminished.

Too much faith should not be placed in the meanings of place names 103
listed. The average Tongan appears to give no more thought to the meaning 128
of his place names than we do. If asked what a name means, it is
an even chance he will not know. The meanings of almost all place names
in this paper were worked out by Tongan scholars, European and native. [127]
These meanings have all been studied by the author and modified where
it seemed necessary. Nevertheless, some meanings are undoubtedly forced,
and, what is more, it sometimes happens that a name is open to more than
one interpretation.

Even with these short-comings in mind it is apparent that the meanings 103
of names fall roughly into two great classes, descriptive and commemorative.
The former refer to some feature of the locality, the latter to some
event, usually trivial enough. There are also names of foreign places.
Undoubtedly when comparison with other regions is made these will
increase many fold. Apparently some names express in sarcasm or 423
irony the injured feelings of the tenant of the tract, for it must be remembered
that land is not owned by the rank and file of the population. [103]
It is leased from the government and from the nobility, there being in all
some thirty such landlords. The rentals paid today in coin replace the
ancient tribute of produce paid to the lords of the land.

The name of the landlord has been recorded for every tract; the
absence of a personal name signifies that the government is the landlord. [128]

So far as Tonga alone is concerned, the names of the landlords appear 174
of slight significance in solving the problem of Tongan origins. Here and 103
there a place name appears definitely associated with a landlord, as the
place name Haatalafale with the landlord Tui Pelehake. I believe, however, 121
that the recording of the landlord names will prove exceedingly
valuable when comparisons are made with other parts of Oceania.

In the gazetteer the several occurrences of a single name are listed 128
from the Tongatabu group in the south to Niuafoou in the north. Roughly
the order of listing the occurrences on several islands in a group, or near
several villages on an island, is from south to north and from west to east.
The reason for selecting the southern or Tongatabu group as the starting
point is the fact that it seems always to have been the political and
cultural center of the Tongan kingdom. The names of the five groups of 104

2. Api faa toe tuu ai ae teve: In the well-stocked farm still stands the *teve.* 539 262

The *teve* (Amorphophalius) grows wild in the bush. Its root has an acrid taste, but is nevertheless sometimes eaten in periods of scarcity. The true farmer, however well stocked he is with other food plants, will not neglect this unpalatable shrub which will be a stand-by in case of the failure of his other crops.

3. Fakamotua ke tao ha tua: Playing the old man to bake a *tua* (a fine kind of yam).

The *tua,* in addition to being a specially good sort of yam, is also one of the hardest varieties to cultivate, and the man who can grow them well is obviously a real farmer. This phrase is a rebuke for a lazy man. Do you expect that sitting down with folded hands like a decrepit ancient is the way to get these fine yams to bake and eat? [244] [226]

4. Halahala a maala keli: Misses of well cultivated garden, that is, a yam garden in which the soil is loosened to a good depth and where fine large pieces of seed yam are used. 539 244

In such a plantation there may be some holes which miss, but those which do grow well will have such large roots as to compensate for the failures. Applied especially in such sports as boxing, fishing and the like, to one who may fail often to get his blow home, or to catch any fish, but when he does succeed scores so heavily as to redeem his previous failures. [526] [226]

5. Holi ke utuutu i he maala utu: To desire to glean in a plantation that is being harvested.

Utuutu is to look for yams in the bush growing wild on the sites of disused gardens. What one finds in this way he is welcome to, but such gleaning must not trespass on gardens which are still being used by their owners. [423]

6. Huo hoko hoka huo: Digging together, spades clashing. 539

If two men are working close together and one strikes his spade against his companion's the accident is likely to prove annoying and lead to a quarrel. The expression, therefore, is an injunction to keep strictly to the line of one's own job without irritating interference with neighboring laborers. 578 461

7. Kaka tuu ofi: Barren soil near at hand.

An inferior piece of ground conveniently close is more likely to be cultivated than better soil at a distance. The thing of fair quality that is near is better than a superior thing at a distance. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. 539 241

227. Mala nima: Bad luck (of the) hand. 539 226 777

Bad luck, or curse, that is not a visitation of the unseen powers but arises from the awakwardness or folly of man. The phrase is said to have had its origin in the bonito fishing of a certain Tamanika of Fotuhaa in Haapai. He went on board a boat and had the task of bailing out. The fish bit well but the man in charge of the lines continually failed to land a catch. Tamanika vented his disgust in exclamations of, "*Isa, mala nima,*" "Ugh, bad luck from the hand." At length Tamanika was given the fisherman's post and a wonderful haul resulted. It is said that the reef called Hakau Tabu was given to Tamanika in recognition of his expertness.

228. Mavae a pa keina: Separation of an eaten hook, that is, a hook that attracts the fish and often gets a bite. 539 226 586

This is applied, for example, to a handsome man and a handsome woman who have been married, but afterwards separated. Each one of them is a hook that is very likely soon to catch another fish.

229. Ngofua e fanga kae taumatu: The beach is free. get the *matu.* 539 226 622 423 [136] [784]

A beach near which lived a great chief could not be fished on at will by the common people. The Samoan *matu (Caesio pisong)* is a fish which is found inshore, and therefore cannot be caught by the common people near where a chief is living except when the lord's beach is open to the public. Such removal of restriction is indicated by the phrase; the beach is open and even the *matu* may be caught. Used generally of being permitted to do that which was prohibited.

230. Oku kei mata ae tua niu: The rib of the coconut leaflet is still green. 539 226 824

Indicates primarily a fishing net in which the leaflets of the coconut are strung on a rope. This net is used more than once; it may be used as long as the leaves remain in good condition. Applied directly to fishing it means that there is still opportunity for the sport as the net is not yet past service. Generally it means that there is still time, or opportunity, for something.

231. Pa kuo fau: Fish hook that has been made, that is, skillfully made by a real craftsman. 539 226

Thence generally to that which has the marks of real craftsmanship about it.

232. Taki taha uku ene fonu: Each one dive for his own turtle. 539 225 571 622

This is commonly used of everybody attending to his own interests. The pursuit of the turtle is a difficult sport calling for considerable experience and skill. It is a sport moreover whose fruits must be properly

413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back of the head. 539 183

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found. 515

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when anything is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of his closeness he touches nothing. 571 602 826

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *angavale*, behave vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out. 827 576 516

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539

Giving away grudgingly; not grasping heartily and offering with good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.) 431 183

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.) 356 [342]

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in front of his place. 539 351 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed. 423 571 829

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
0U9 Tonga 0U9

539 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.
516 This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and
526 pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or
●423 the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be
571 known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of
another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.
352 The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed
484 on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not
usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's
829 home.
571 This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business
and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern
312 which is filled only by the rain.
The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified,
[177] of course, by the introduction of European roofing iron and tanks. Of the
[178] cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from
springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled
cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the
[821] islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether
any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside
261 cook-house.
515 One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is
prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a
372 fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the
261 ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

133 The island of Pangai has a greatest height of 290 feet
(131) and a total area of 2,188 acres. All the island makes up one
(423) of the royal estates. There are two villages, Pangai and
(643) Utulei. In 1931 their populations were given as 250 and 104
361 respectively.[4] The division of acreage between the two
(762) villages is roughly indicated on the island map (Fig. 1).[A]

(423) Because the principal economic activity of the villagers
128 is gardening and cultivation of root crops mainly, a note
(241) may be added on soil and climate. The following information[5] refers specifically to 'Uta Vava'u but there is no reason to think that it does not apply equally well to the island of
134 Pangai. The islands are of a coral-formation on a volcanic base: The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is sub-
132 tropical with a humidity in mid-summer that is severe and which has a year-round mean in Neiafu of 77 per cent. The rainfall is fairly heavy with a wet season from December to April and an occasional short but injurious drought between October and December. (Rainfall range in Neiafu, 68 to 103 inches, mean of 82 inches.) The soil of the island is
312 very porous and water may be obtained easily by sinking a well. Today however, the villagers rely on concrete cisterns to obtain water for drinking and domestic purposes. The number and location of these cisterns in Pangai village is shown on the map (Fig. 2).[B] The prevailing winds are
132 the south-east trade-winds. During the rainy season, hurricanes are an ever-constant threat to the villagers. Only
731 occasionally do these hurricanes occur with disastrous effect. Every year however, the possibility of hurricane means an ever-recurrent anxiety. A hurricane does great damage to the gardens and cultivations and generally means food-shortage for many months thereafter. Even strong winds of less than hurricane force may cause great damage if they

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

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(104) Tongan orthography. No confusion need arise: it should be obvious that the village of Pagai on the map is the same village referred to as Pangai in the text. It is hard to answer the very natural question as to why we use these two orthographies thus, instead of one only. Presumably we think the Polynesian system more correct than the Tongan system although we would feel guilty if we tampered with the standardized spelling of place-names on a map.

[4] According to our household census, the population of Pangai in December, 1938, was 268 (see p. 69).

(113) [5] From Wood, A. H., *History and Geography of Tonga*, Auckland, 1938, pp. 85-86.

A. [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]
B. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

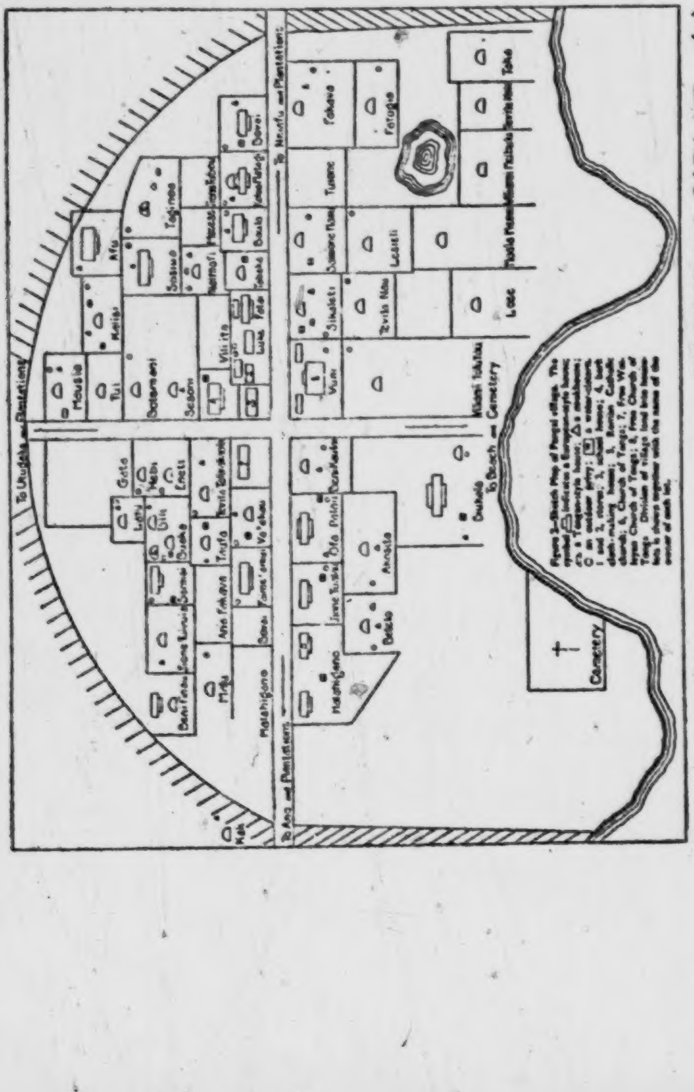
To Utudeha and Plantations
To Ana and Plantations
To Neiafu and Plantations
To Beach and Cemetery
Cemetery
Mousie
Tui
Afu
Gata
Hebi
Dili
Eneti
Sesoni
Sosiua
Taginoa
Maju
Ana Fakava
Taufa
Savai
Va'ehau
Luka
Fotai
Baulo
Davai
Malahigano
Vuni
Sikaleti
Tusane
Fakava
Tevita Nau
Lesieli
Fatugia
Lose
Toke

Figure 2—Sketch Map of Pangai village. The symbol ⌂ indicates a European-style house; ⌂ a Tongan-style house; △ a cookhouse; C an outdoor privy; ▣ a water-cistern. 1 and 2, stores; 3, school house; 4, bark cloth-making house; 5, Roman Catholic church; 6, Church of Tonga; 7, Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga; 8, Free Church of Tonga. Division of village land into house-lots is shown together with the name of the owner of each lot.

FIG. 2.

361

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342
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764
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423
366

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when 132
the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees 731
have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic 621
unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief
source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of [628]
course, continual coming and going between Pangai and
other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year 574
when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population 628
in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, [162]
congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with
relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few 871
youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital 484
and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170
miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or [505]
more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai
for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in
Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely 484
make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they 574
stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits
to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2)[A] sketches the lay-out 361
of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 423
acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of 368
European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands
empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are 366
again small frame buildings with large copra-drying plat- 417
forms and small copra storehouses alongside. 343

The style of house common in the village is also 342
indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72
per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European [177]
frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style
houses are built according to old-time native practice with [178]
coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

A. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

361 foot. During the dry season, they are quite adequate for
491 foot or horse traffic. Each householder in the village and
(653) each plantation-holder in the bush is responsible for keeping
that part of the road which runs past his house or plantation
487 free from high grass or obstructions. Numerous tracks
intersect the village winding from house to house, defined
361 according to amount of use.

THE PEOPLE

565 The people of Pangai village, as will be stressed through-
621 out these notes, are commoners. Tongan society is today
a stratified hierarchy with royalty and nobles at the top of the
social scale, the common people at the bottom. In some
villages, a high chief or noble[6] has his permanent residence.
In Pangai this is not the case. Pangai island is a royal
estate. The only resident in the village who claims some
[554] modicum of chiefly status is Koloamatangi, overseer of the
estate. He is not a noble but stands with certain limited
[562] authority at the head of the village both because of his
position as overseer and because his position as pilot for the
port of Vava'u brings him sufficient pilot-fees each year to
give him a more than average annual monetary income.
For the rest, the villagers are just Tongans of the commoner
class. Some may hint vaguely at distant relationships to
some noble. In practice all disregard such hints. All think
of themselves as commoners whose job in life is to work the
land, to get what food and money is necessary, to obtain
what pleasures life may have in store for them, to take what
pains with as much fortitude as they can muster. The only
significance of the following notes is that they attempt to
explore some facets of this commoner life that are not yet
adequately defined in published Tongan ethnologies.

CONTACT WITH WHITES

177 The attitude of the villager to non-Tongans is difficult
609 to characterize. Excluding a few half-castes and other
Pacific islanders, the non-Tongans with whom the villager

565 [6] Within the chiefly class, the present-day Tongan social system
distinguishes between nobles and chiefs. Nobles are those chiefs
423 who retain by royal grant their hereditary lands *(tofia)*. Chiefs are
622 those other members of this class who have not retained any hereditary
lands or estates but yet are chiefs because of their hereditarily-
established status.

no opportunity therefore, to obtain any close or intimate 177
knowledge of any non-Tongan domestic economy, domestic
morals, domestic manners, or domestic relations. What [871]
slight knowledge there may be on these topics among the [521]
village women is derived almost entirely from Convent
schooling or gossip. From this viewpoint our own stay in [123]
the village might possibly have added something to the
culture of the more observant or curious of the village
women.

Economic Life

CONTROL OF LAND

423

All land in Tonga is ultimately owned and controlled by the Crown. Functionally it is divided into three groups: Government estates, the estates of nobles, and the Royal estates (including those of the Queen and Crown Prince). Of the thirty-nine estates into which Vava'u is divided, seventeen are Government, sixteen are noble, five are Royal
and one is the estate of the Crown Prince. Again in theory, [425]
each adult Tongan male above the age of sixteen years is [651]
entitled to an allotment of 8¼ acres of land from the Government estate for which he pays taxes at the rate of eight
shillings per year. Land is not sold to anyone. Applications [432]
for the leasing of land are made to the Minister of Lands. [427]
Land from the Royal estate or from that of a noble may be [428]
acquired by lease and may be inherited in either the male or female line provided the rent of eight shillings per year continues to be paid.

Pangaimotu (the island of Pangai) is Royal estate. Within the limits of Pangai village, the residential sections are nearly all controlled by named households. The bush lands on the islands are divided into sections called *api uta*, more briefly *api* (see Fig. 1), which range in size from eight
or nine to sixteen or twenty acres. Each of these bush *api* 423
is leased for the usual rental of eight shillings. As long as 427
the rental is paid, the lessee has full control of his *api* and full right to produce what he pleases thereon. Should the rent, however, be in arrears for three years in succession, the land may be allotted to another individual.

423 There is a certain measure of inequality among the
427 villagers in regard to leased *api*. Thus thirty-six men are
each lessees of one *api* of the smaller size. Six men are each
428 lessees of one big *api*; three men each rent two *api*; one man rents three *api*. The number of *api* that a man may rent depends somewhat on the vagaries of inheritance. This may be shown by the case of Biukala who controls three *api* on Pangaimotu and one in Tongatapu. In August, 1939, Biukala rented the last free *api* on Pangaimotu. He also controls the *api* of his dead father which in turn passed to his mother who now lives in Nukualofa. Thirdly he controls the *api* of his mother's mother (her husband is also dead). A fourth *api* in Tongatapu Biukala has inherited from his deceased father who was a Tongatapu man. Biukala pays rent each year for all four *api*. When his mother or his grandmother dies, Biukala may decide either to control their *api* exclusively for his own advantage or else arrange for a
[425] close relative to use the land. He could also, if he wished,
[651] relinquish the land by defaulting on his taxes.

423 It is obvious from this that as long as a young man
427 wishes to remain in the village of Pangai, he cannot necessarily look forward to controlling by lease an *api* on the island of Pangai. Thus, according to Biukala, the male children of a man who rents but one *api* have now no hope of renting *api* for themselves on Pangai island. When they reach adulthood, they will either have to make arrangements to share the produce from an *api* controlled by another or else seek land away from their home village. Biukala
[311] estimates that one *api*, properly cultivated, could produce ample food for at least twenty cultivators and their house-
[241] holds, although with this type of relatively intensive cultivation the amount of copra obtained from the land would become negligible.

423 The location of the plantations traditionally associated with residents of Pangai village is given by the numbers in Figure 1.[A] Of the 81 plantations surrounding Pangai, 53 are controlled by present residents of the village (44 by Pangai men, 5 by Pangai women, 1 being associated with the village school and 1 with the Free Wesleyan Church), 30 by past residents of the village. Of this last number, 13 are now resident in Neiafu, 13 in other nearby villages of Vava'u,

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[A] [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]

and 2 in Tongatapu. Those in Tongatapu do not cultivate their plantations but retain control of them as long as rent is paid. They presumably continue to pay rent because they at some time hope to return to Pangai to live. The 26 other non-Pangai residents were either at one time resident in the village or have inherited plantations from relatives. They are generally cultivating their plantations or else are using them for the production of copra. 423 [427) [241)

The grouping of the numbers in Figure 1A generally follows the topography of the island. Where the numbers are close together, the land is flat, fertile and easily cultivated. Where the numbers are widely separated as at the left of the map, the land is rocky or broken or infertile. To the right of the map where there are no numbers on the island, the land is controlled by the village of Utulei. 423 133

Although Pangaimotu is Royal estate no tribute is now paid by the villagers to the Queen in the way of a first-fruits offering. When the Queen comes to Neiafu on a visit, or should she at any time pay a visit to the village, special gifts of fine mats, bark cloth, pigs and food, are made to her by the people of Pangai. On a visit to Vava'u the people would honour the Queen in this fashion. The people occupying the lands of a Royal estate, however, would expect to make gifts greater in quantity and value than the general populace. 423 643 651 431

The modern pattern of the villager's control over a small acreage of land through annual payment of land tax may superficially appear to represent a great change in aboriginal patterns of land ownership. Closer study, however, suggests that changes have not been great. The aboriginal commoner was a tenant farmer, working land granted to him by a feudal chief, paying to this chief a " rent " in produce, liable in theory to be dispossessed of his " rented " land at the will of his chief. Today, the ultimate owner of all land in the Kingdom is the Tongan government which has made land grants to Royalty and nobles. Land taxes are paid to the government representative. The Crown passes on these rents to the noble concerned if they come from his estate and keeps them for government use if the land is Crown property. The villager therefore no more owns his land today than he did in aboriginal times. A 423 651 427 178

A [See category 116. p. 6--Analyst]

423 651 427 178 former produce " rent " or tribute is now paid in tax money. Present day security of occupancy is probably for many Tongan commoners greater than formerly when the will or caprice of a high official was the only fiat that courted. But in general, the villager has the same type of occupancy-status claim to his land and its produce as he had under the old system of Tongan land ownership and feudal control.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

462 [621] As with all other peoples, the villager organizes according to a fairly definite pattern in order to get various types of work done. There is a major division of labour within the village on the basis of sex. This division is outlined in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—DIVISION OF LABOUR

WORK OF MEN	WORK OF WOMEN
Cultivation: preparation of land, planting, hoeing, harvesting.	Cultivation and copra-making (when help is needed).
Bringing food, firewood, copra from bush to village.	House-cleaning, clothes washing, sewing, care of children.
Collecting, husking coconuts, copra-making.	Coconut oil making, preparation of cigarette wrapping leaf.
Feeding animals, butchering, preparation of ovens.	Preparation of food for ovens, cooking.
House-building, thatching.	*Kava* making.
Canoe building.	Bark cloth manufacture.
Sea fishing, reef fishing by spearing, netting.	Plaiting of fine mats, baskets, fans, roof mats, wall screens.
Care of dead bodies, undertaking.	Reef fishing, collecting of shell fish, seaweeds, edible reef creatures.
Leadership in religious activities.	Collecting stones for ornamenting graves.
Experts in bone-setting, medicines.	Preparation of medicines; giving medical advice.

Men are generally responsible for agricultural activities, women for domestic duties in the household, including mat-making, bark cloth making, and *kava*-making. Men carry on the more arduous types of fishing, while women confine themselves to fishing over the shallow waters of the reefs. Men prepare the ovens for cooking, women generally prepare the food that goes into the ovens. Care of dead bodies and leadership in religious activities are left to the men, while both men and women participate in native medical practices.

plants. The above staples would be planted as required in such a way as to keep the amounts and proportions fairly constant. 241

Such is the fertility of the Pangai soil that only a small part of a man's *api* is used for garden-purposes. Thus Biukala controls three *api* which total about fifty acres. He allows a relative to garden two acres of one *api*. The remainder of this *api* is given over to bush and coconuts. The second *api* is not cultivated but is used for coconut-production. On the third *api* Biukala gardens about three acres for his own household needs, taking coconuts from the remainder. From these three *api* Biukala thus supports his own household and that of a relative as well as securing, under optimum conditions, about twenty-five tons of copra each year. Most villagers with their normally small *api* can easily produce enough food for their households (if they are reasonably industrious according to Tongan standards) and can also expect to obtain up to five tons of copra each year. 241 423 311

Such also is the fertility of the soil that there appear to be few beliefs, if any, of a magical nature associated with garden cultivation. The villager knows full well that most of what he plants will grow. Insect pests, high winds and hurricanes, excessive rain or excessive dryness will affect his harvest from time to time. But it is convenient today to look upon these natural events as God-sent against which the skill and hopes of man avail nothing. Similarly the influence of government agricultural experts and of agricultural teachers in the government and mission-colleges tends to inculcate a scientific fatalism where religious fatalism leaves off. Neither agricultural art nor religious excuse, taken singly or together, leaves much ground for specifically magical belief or practice. Garden magic therefore, is conspicuously absent in the emotional and intellectual make-up of the average Pangai cultivator. 241 789 [242] [654]

LIVESTOCK

Most households in the village own at least several pigs. These are necessary not so much for ordinary food-consumption but in order to fulfil feast obligations whenever these fall due at times of birth, marriage, death, visits of 231 594 527

family. He has an *api* of about ten acres, part of which he 434 511
uses for gardening, part for the growing of coconuts and 592
bananas. His income from the sale of copra and bananas is [311]
about £10 a year. His fixed expenditures for twelve months [423]
were:

Government rent for *api*	8s 0d
Government poll-tax	£1 16s 0d
Church contributions	£2 0s 0d
Total	£4 4s 0d

This leaves Sesoni about £6 a year for expenditures on clothing, kerosene, soap, matches, tobacco, and extra foods for his household. The money buys very little of these extra items. But Sesoni seems to get along well enough.

A second record is that of Biukala. His household
consists of four adults and five children. His is a higher
standard of living because of the fact that he has come to [428]
control by inheritance and immediate renting three *api* in [427]
Pangai and one *api* in Tongatapu and has had some initiative [423]
in growing vegetables for sale to the Europeans in Neiafu.
He is a young man, a graduate from the government college
in Nukualofa, with definite ideas of raising his status and
that of his children. In this he is a-typical. In other words, [156]
he is not the easy-going villager. He is a man with a mission
in life. His budget, therefore, is not typical of the other
villagers. It may be given in detail, however, to show by
contrast what a high standard of living is for a Pangai
household.

TABLE 8.—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE
7 months (June-December, 1938)

Income	£	s	d	Expenditure	£	s	d
Sale of copra	6	3	0	Poll-taxes	1	8	0
Sale of garden produce	10	19	6	*Api* rents	1	0	0
Sale of tobacco leaf	3	8	6	Church gifts	3	8	0
Sale of pigs	1	17	0	Son's birthday feast	3	7	6
				Food, seeds, clothing	2	19	3
				Christmas gift to mother	5	0	0
Total	£22	8	0	Total	£17	2	9

Cash balance £5 5 3

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

642 —English of which a schoolboy would be ashamed. I was spared this necessity by an inspiration. Had not Mr Baker himself declared that the Constitution was passed by a Tongan Legislature? It must therefore have been enacted in the native language, and the Tongan version was the original. I had only to translate it back into English, and my code would be cleansed of the phraseology that constitutes Mr Baker's principal claim to distinction.

421 643 423 Chief among the purely Tongan enactments of the new code were the land laws. In former times the soil of Tonga was vested in the Tui Tonga—the spiritual chief. The great nobles and small cultivators held their lands from him, and he had theoretically the right to dispossess them at will. When the office of Tui Tonga became vacant, and the title was absorbed by the present king, the people readily adopted the idea that all the land was vested in the Crown who had the power to grant holdings [565] in return for taxes. But in 1888, Mr Baker, acting either under pressure from the chiefs, or spontaneously wishing to create a landed aristocracy, foolishly caused the king to grant large estates, which he called "inheritances," to a number of hereditary lords, who were to receive from the tenants a rental of $1 per annum for each holding of about eight acres. In dealing with the land I could not hope to rid myself of these superfluous landlords, but I could, without evoking dangerous opposition, deprive them of all power over their estates. I determined to make the Crown collect their rents and pay it over to them, while reserving to itself all rights of granting allotments and evicting tenants. Thus for all practical purposes the land still belonged to the State; for so long as the rents were

paid to the lords of the manor, the Government was 421
virtually the landlord, and the king had voluntarily made 423
over to the Treasury all rents due upon the lands not 643
included within any "inheritance."

The chief obstacle that would confront every Government- 423
in Tonga would always be the difficulty in collecting 651
the poll-tax. The people required some stronger incentive
to pay than the fear of levy by distress. To meet this
difficulty I adopted an idea, suggested to me by Mr Hanslip,
that the tenure of land should be made dependent
upon the regular payment of taxes. I converted the poll- 423
tax into a land-tax, and gave to every taxpayer the right 428
of occupying one allotment of a fixed area, inalienable in 651
his family so long as he and his heirs continued to discharge
their debts to the State, but liable to forfeiture if
for three successive years they were guilty of neglect. As [885]
each man arrived at manhood he was entitled to claim an
allotment; and when the father of grown-up sons died
his widow kept his allotment for her lifetime. At her
death each of the sons might choose whether they would
relinquish their own holdings in favour of their father's
or not; but in no case could a man occupy more than
one holding. Thus we combined the "Nationalisation of
land" with the institution of lords of the manor. By 423
changing the name of the tax I disposed of the necessity 651
for claiming it from Europeans, since, being possessed of 563
no land of their own, they could not reasonably be called
upon to pay a "land-tax." The poll-tax had for many
years been the chief grievance of the traders, for Europeans
will pay an amount of indirect taxation which, if
imposed in direct form, would cause a rebellion.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

646 dumb-show the peculiar symptoms of stomach-ache from
759 generous living.

646 The debate upon the land question, scarcely less im-
421 portant than the Customs, opened inauspiciously. Manase,
423 the orator, made a set speech upon the history of the land laws of the country, incidentally alluding to the magnanimity of the king. The House seems to be moved—perhaps by his eloquence. There is a long and ominous silence. Then Niukabu, a noble of Vavau with a grey moustache, rises to order. He has with difficulty contained himself, he says, during the last indecent speech. What does Manase think? Have the lords of Hahavea no feelings? Do they like to be reminded of the past? The three lords of Hahavea glare responsive at the ceiling. I ask Kubu my neighbour what Manase has said to hurt their feelings. He whispers that when the king conquered them in the last war of 1853, contrary to Tongan custom, he restored their lands to them, and to speak of the king's magnanimity recalls unpleasant memories. I mentally resolve not to make even the most distant allusion to Tongan history. In spite, however, of the temporary gloom thrown over us by this incident, our pet land scheme was passed with but slight alteration. In future a taxpayer who refused to pay his taxes was to lose his land.

646 I was absent from the second reading of the Minor
576 Offences Bill. When I came in the Premier, who is not often moved to express himself strongly, was rating the House in unmeasured terms. He had not believed, he said, that the Legislative Council of Tonga could so far forget its dignity as to indulge in such a disgraceful scene. What would be said of Tonga if such a thing were known

[1853]

175 of Fiji to England reduced him from the position of an
648 independent viceroy to that of a pensioner of the British
721 Government. Deprived of all stimulus to activity, he
became demoralised, took to drink, and died in 1880.

175 Affairs stood thus when, in 1853, King George em-
643 barked for Sydney in the mission brig John Wesley.
484 The ship dropped anchor at Bau, and King George met
177 Thakombau and formed the alliance that ultimately
648 brought about the annexation of the group by England.
The Fijian chief promised him the canoe Ra Marama, the
largest craft afloat, if the king would visit him to bring
her away. His power was already waning, and he hoped
that his alliance with the Tongan king, whose name was
become a terror throughout the group, would cow his
enemy Ratu Mara.

175 Sydney made a deep impression upon George's mind.
643 His questions were unending. Nothing escaped him,
484 from the form of legislature to the uniforms of the police-
177 men. One fact, indeed, he lost no time in applying to his
423 own country, and to it is due the present independence of
609 the kingdom of foreign interference. European settlers
had already been pressing him to sell land to them, and
he had resisted hitherto, feeling that it would give them a
status in the country that would sooner or later affect his
own independence. He now found that in Sydney land
could be granted to a stranger without passing out of the
hand of its real owner. He resolved that not a rood of
Tongan land should be alienated except upon lease, and
he kept his resolution.

175 On his return to Tonga he wrote to Thakombau the
643 letter that induced him to accept the missionaries' teach-
648
797

648 100 yards deep on one side and 140 at the other,
and the natives showed their delight by clearing
the boundary and planting lines of cocoanuts to
mark it. The ship's carpenter made huge broad
arrows in cement at the corners on the sea face,
and erected blocks of stone, similarly marked,
at the inner corners.

Meanwhile the navigating officer was taking
804 angles with a sextant on the sea front, and Unga,
Fatafehi's secretary, was following him about
with his theodolite like a faithful dog. So
pathetic was his anxiety that his ancient instrument
should be put to use that the lieutenant
at last took pity on him, and set it up. The
first glance showed him that the metal cap had
rusted to the lens, and when he wrenched it off
a cry of agony was wrung from Unga, as who
[423] should say, "Now you've done it!" For years
he had been pretending to survey the boundaries
in land disputes with the cap on, and the erection
of the instrument had always sufficed to settle
the dispute, and here was an Englishman, albeit
possessing the occult knowledge of a naval
lieutenant, ruthlessly destroying the *mana* of his
weapon for ever. But when he was shown that
he could look through the telescope, which had
formerly only presented darkness to his eye, and

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

EURO-AMERICAN ACCULTURATION IN TONGA.

By Edward Winslow Gifford.
University of California.

THE Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga, a British protector- 131
ate, lies about a thousand miles north of New Zealand, four hundred south of Samoa, and two hundred east
of Fiji. The population of Tonga in April, 1921, was 24,935, 161
of which 23,759 were Tongans, 235 were other Pacific Islanders, 706 were other foreigners (chiefly Europeans), and 235 were half castes. The Tongan population of to-day is probably nearly as numerous as it was in Captain Cook's day.

There is no European colonization in progress. for 167
foreigners are prohibited from acquiring land except by 423
lease. The Tongans are Christians. The most important 795
church is the Free Church of Tonga, an offshoot of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church.* Two-thirds of the population belong to it. Next in numerical importance are the Wesleyan-Methodists and the Roman Catholics, each holding about a sixth of the population. Then follow the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Episcopalians. Religious rivalry is keen.

With unimpaired population, with no Caucasian con- 177
queror in the land, and with its instiutions functioning 171
almost entirely through Tongans (except for friendly British financial direction), the kingdom of Tonga offers something of a parallel in Euro-American acculturation to the empire of Japan.

It is the aim of the writer to present a number of 121
examples, to make clear the manner in which acculturation is proceeding.

Tonga is now a constitutional monarchy with a legis- 643
lative assembly composed of ministers, nobles, and elected [642]
representatives of the people. The present monarch is Queen

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* A majority of the Free Church and the Wesleyan-Methodists have this year, 1924, re-united.—Ed.

[p. 281]

177
new religion has resulted in the development of a numerous 571
native clergy who vie with the chiefs in the amount of 565
influence they wield. It seems unlikely that the ancient [793]
heathen priesthood was anywhere near so powerful a social
factor as the modern clergy. The police, too, constitute a [625]
new factor in Tongan society.

Although the power of the chiefs is much diminished, 565
nevertheless Tongan written law recognises their superior 554
status. A commoner may not appear before a chief of 178
rank without wearing a ragged mat about his waist. The 565
situation has been somewhat ameliorated in recent years 576
by making a belt a legal substitute for the ragged mat. In 292
travelling with the Governor of Haapai, I noted that all [634]
individuals, even chiefs of rank, wore ragged mats in his
presence, for he was the viceroy of the Queen and as such
entitled to the respect of all, no matter how exalted their
station.

Umbrellas must be lowered and neither turbans nor 565
lime worn on the head in the presence of chiefs. I knew 576
of one chief who horse-whipped two young men for smoking [689]
cigarettes as they passed his house. This is obviously a [276]
new form of disrespect resulting from the introduction of [177]
tobacco. Commoners on horseback dismount in passing a
chief on foot. Anciently commoners are said to have
crouched by the roadside while a chief was passing. No
one rides in front of the queen's palace; he leads his horse.
As automobiles become commoner among the Tongans it
will be of interest to see what scheme is adopted for showing
proper reverence for chiefly blood. The freedom which 565
chiefs formerly showed with regard to the young women 178
among their dependents seems to have waned very appreciably.
Lastly, I have heard it whispered that chiefs are [696]
never brought to book in the modern courts of law.

Formerly, under the old feudal tenure of Tonga, people 423
furnished produce to their chiefs or landlords, more especially 427
first fruits and the first catch of certain fishes. To-day, 178
although these may be voluntarily furnished, the chief 651
obligation of the tenant is to pay his annual rental (one
dollar a year for eight and one-quarter acres) to his landlord.
In many cases the landlord is now the government, [643]
the lands formerly held by the Tui Kanokupolu having been
turned over to the government and a salary accepted by the
Tui Kanokupolu, as monarch, in lieu of rentals.

Tongan landed chiefs are land hungry. The old practice 423
was to claim as much as possible of the neighbouring lord's 178
territory upon his death. Careful surveys now being made 425
by the government are fixing permanently the boundaries
of hereditary lands, so that expansion of one's holdings at [428]
the expense of some minor heir who is unfamiliar with his [656]
inheritance will soon be no longer possible. It is of interest
to note that the chief who would be Tui Tonga, if that office
had not been abolished, has by legal procedure in recent
years secured the return of lands improperly claimed by
others.

Euro-American culture has had a hand in transforming 361
the Tongan population from a rural one to a village-dwelling 177
one. The transformation had its beginning at the end of 178
the eighteenth century when civil war forced the people to [166]
leave their farms and seek refuge in fortresses. Thus village
life seems to have begun. Then came the missionary and a
great wave of religious enthusiasm which served to reinforce
the new village ties rather than to dissipate them. The [245]
copra trade and the scant attention required for the coconut
trees doubtless, in a negative way, has helped to perpetuate
the village life. The result is that modern Tonga is a country
of villages. The farms surround the villages at varying 241
distances and the villager makes periodic excursions to his 311
eight-acres of farm land. All of this has not been beneficial 178
to agriculture. Much land once cultivated intensively has
become bush. There are signs, however, of revival. A prominent
chief is inducing his people to give up village life
and dwell on their farms. Recently introduced agricultural
fairs seem also to offer a much-needed stimulus. It seems
likely that the next few decades will see a return to the
intensive cultivation of heathen days. The series of food 241
plants has been much enlarged by introductions. 178

Tracts of farm land are sometimes given the names of 103
foreign lands with which the Tongan has become acquainted
in school. More frequently, however, tracts within the villages
are given such names. The Tongan seems to have a 484
considerable interest in geography and he likes to travel. [181]
His geographic poems amply attest this. This love of travel [823]
and of topography is still rife. The monthly steamers and
the sailing passenger boats carry many Tongans from one
part of the archipelago to another or to more distant Samoa
and Fiji. Modern vessels continue to cater to the Tongans' [178]

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

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MODERN TONGA[1]

C. G. F. SIMKIN

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA is a small and unimportant 101
corner of the Pacific. It has barely enough people for a medium
sized town, not nearly enough land for an average New Zealand
county, and no physical resources apart from a soil and climate favour-
able to sub-tropical agriculture. Commercially it is of slight con- [648]
sequence, even to its immediate neighbours; politically it relies upon
Britain for its actual independence.

But if Tonga is negligible as a nation, its social arrangements deserve 182
notice as being both interesting in themselves and suggestive for col- 642
onial reform: for the Tongans are the only Pacific people to retain
real self-government, and they have used it to develop a society which
is both reasonably adjusted to the modern world and satisfactorily
adapted to their own needs. This means that they have solved one of
the basic problems confronting colonial policy. On the political side [648]
the solution has taken the form of an independent Kingdom, protected
by a Great Power, but effectively controlled by its own traditional
leaders, who have already made it into a modern state, and are now
developing it into a constitutional democracy. On the economic side 182
it rests upon a land system which excludes plantations and proletariat [423]
and gives every man a farm of his own. This simple but admirable
institution prevents unemployment, promotes economic equality and
independence, cushions the country against slumps, and together with

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[1] This statement is the outcome of a few months' military service in Tonga during which spare [114]
time was spent collecting information about its people and institutions, mainly from official
papers, from interviews with heads of departments, and from discussions with Tongan and [127]
European residents. Acknowledgement is gratefully made of the debt due to all who gave so
freely of their own ample knowledge of the Kingdom, more particularly to the patient and very [124]
helpful assistance of Mr. Nicholson, the Treasurer, Mr. Brownlees, the Secretary to the Government, Mr. Cottrell-Dormer, the Director of Agriculture, the Rev. Mr. Gribble, the Acting-Director of Education, Dr. Brown, the Chief Medical Officer, and the Rev. Mr. Page, Dean of the Tongan Missions.

[p. 99]

tion of the whole Kingdom and to his assumption of the powers and 643
dignities of a ruling monarch. France, Britain, Germany and the United 178
States soon recognised him as such, largely because the settled condition [669]
of his Kingdom removed the usual excuse for European intervention.
The remaining decades of his long reign were remarkable for a series 642
of reforms which transformed Tonga from a chaotic native feudalism 178
to a stable modern state. Serfdom was abolished, all land vested in the 641
Crown, and every male Tongan guaranteed a standard leasehold at a 178
nominal rent. The usual European civil rights were granted and a 642
parliament set up with representation shared among the Crown, the
people, and a newly created class of hereditary nobles. At the same 178
time the foundations were laid for a civil service and for a state education 647
system. Early in the present century a Treaty of Friendship and 658
Protection was signed whereby Britain guaranteed Tonga's defence 178
and independence in return for full control of her foreign relations, 648
exclusive naval facilities, and jurisdiction over Europeans. An amend- [647]
ment to the treaty obliged the King to accept the British Consul's
advice and veto in financial matters and in European appointments to
the civil service.

Contemporary Social Organisation 571

The core of Tonga's social organisation is the land system, for more 423
reasons than that farming is the only important industry. Land tenure
underlies social relations, influences social groupings, provides the basis
for a real economic democracy, and guarantees the people effective
social security. All land belongs to the Crown, but the Royal Family 423
and the Government do not directly control more than half of it. The
rest is parcelled into hereditary estates held by the thirty-three descen- 423
dants of the nobility, and by six hereditary matabules. These gentry, 565
strictly speaking, have only a life interest in their estates, but lineal [428]
inheritance is invariable, estates reverting to the Crown only if there
are no lawful heirs.

From the economic aspect they are mere rentiers, for the Crown 423
reserves all rights of granting allotments and evicting tenants, controls 656
all leases, collects all rents, and even prescribes the area a noble may
retain for his own use. The old feudal rights have all gone, and today 423
a noble's authority is limited to the rights of consultation in regard to 565
tenants, of ordering outsiders off his lands, and of holding fonos, or 178
compulsory gatherings of tenants to hear announcements and orders.

565 Even these meagre powers have declined with the appointment of
178 town officers, a class of officials who are responsible to the Premier
[624] for the observance by their villages of planting and health regulations.
Nevertheless the nobles still have some general social authority based
upon birth and Tongan tradition and reinforced by a recognition on
the part of the government that they are the leaders of their people.
The chief Tongan officers of state, for example, have always been
appointed from their ranks. It would seem, however, that their social
prestige is decaying with the emancipation of the people on the one
hand, and with the steady usurping of their traditional functions by the
civil service on the other.

565 The criterion of nobility is the possession of an hereditary estate
641 along with the privilege of participating in the election of nobles'
[423] representatives to the Legislative Assembly. Some men of chiefly
status have no such rights, and are therefore commoners, even though
[423] their birth may be superior to that of many nobles. Despite this formal
inferiority they are accorded high social respect, and sometimes hold
land in excess of a commoner's entitlement through retaining old
feudal privileges.

565 Reference has already been made to six hereditary estates held by
644 matabules. A matabule is a ceremonial officer to a chief, with a superior
status depending upon the rank of the chief he serves. The Royal
[178] Family and the nobles still have matabules, but in the case of other
[423] chiefs the office seems naturally to have lapsed. Those attached to the
Royal Family have hereditary estates but enjoy none of the political
[641] rights of nobles.

631 Altogether there are forty-three villages in Tonga, and three towns
(the ports mentioned earlier). Over a third of these villages and all
631 three towns are owned by the Government, which is thereby direct
423 landlord to two-fifths of the people. Nearly a sixth of the villages are
on the personal estates of the Royal Family, and a corresponding
proportion of the people. None of the nobles has an estate containing
more than four villages, and most of them have less than two.

423 Every male Tongan can apply to the Minister of Lands for an allot-
[647] ment when he is sixteen. The Minister must give him one, provided
that he has paid his poll tax, and that he has not turned down a previous
grant. If possible the allotment is made from the estate to which the
applicant belongs, but if there is no land to spare the Minister will set
him up either on Crown land or upon the estate of another noble.

Allotments are granted as one of three types of life leases. The usual 423
one is eight and a quarter acres of bush land at the low rent of eight 427
shillings a year, together with a free building site in a village. Applicants 651
may also be offered the choice of twelve and three-eighths acres of
bush land, without a town site, but at the reduced rental of four shillings.
It was hoped that this alternative would tempt people to move from
congested areas, but so far little advantage has been taken of it. The
third system is very recent, and permits nobles, subject to Cabinet
approval, to grant people on their estates holdings of fifteen acres, made
up of the usual tax allotment plus five acres at a nominal rent. So far 423
only one estate has used this system. It is rather surprising, and perhaps
disturbing, to find that there is a fairly large and growing number of
taxpayers who have not applied for an allotment, either because they
prefer to wait for their fathers' holdings, or because they have found
employment in other occupations than farming.

No man can hold two allotments although Cabinet may agree to
his holding extra land. To retain his holding he has not only to pay
rent and taxes, but also to comply with the planting regulations which
require all farms to have at least two hundred properly spaced coconut
trees growing within the first year of occupation, as well as sufficient
food crops for the support of the tenant's family. The Department of
Agriculture, working through the town officers, both assists and
compels tenants to fulfil these obligations. Here is a system of tenure
which recognises the importance of land as a community asset, removes
it from the dangers of soil mining and commercial speculation, makes
it available on easy and uniform terms, and recognises that good
husbandry is more important than high rents. Economic democracy
and social security are its natural consequences. Every commoner can
obtain the same amount of land as his fellows and on the same terms.
His allotment is sufficient to provide him and his dependants with food 423
and with most of the other requirements of the Tongan standard of 434
living. He need never fear unemployment, want, exploitation, debt
or loss of independence. In all normal circumstances his economic
welfare depends upon his own efforts.

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION 642

Political democracy is much less developed. Supreme executive 645
authority rests with the Privy Council over which the Queen presides, 643
and to which she appoints all the Tongan members. The only European 645

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 can develop into important agencies for the country's economic
185 development.

241 Tonga differs most from other Pacific island groups in that European
423 planters play an insignificant role in its agriculture. It has been the
studied and consistent policy of the government to prevent the develop-
[189] ment of European plantations and the consequent growth of a native
[563] proletariat. No one can buy land in Tonga, and leases to Europeans
are severely restricted. Less than 1,700 have been granted, and nearly
all of them are for commercial or residential sites. Only 24 are for
agricultural purposes, and none for an area of more than two hundred
[563] acres. These small plantations rely for their labour upon the 350
Solomon Islanders and Fijians resident in the Kingdom.

TONGAN TRADE

438 Commerce, particularly monetary commerce, is unimportant in a
land of subsistence farmers. Tonga has a considerable trade in such
438 local products as livestock, fish, vegetables, fruit, baskets, mats
437 and tapa cloth, but it is largely unorganised and mostly on a basis
437 of barter. The Tongan needs money for few purposes other than
to pay his rent and poll tax, to subscribe to his church, and to purchase
436 a few imported articles. The comparative unimportance of monetary
[439] transactions is shown by exports per head amounting to only £2·9
[651] in 1938, imports per head to £2·4, and native taxes per head to £0·2.[*]

439 Imports, indeed, play a very small direct role in the Tongan standard
of living. Nearly a quarter of them consist either of producers' materials
—copra sacks, banana shooks, timber, cordage, and rope—or of goods
which are largely for European consumption—tobacco, beer, spirits,
[511] automobiles and benzine. The significance of the imports that enter

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439 [*] Statistical summary of Tonga's Foreign Trade (Tongan Gazette).

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Year	Copra Exports	Average Price of Copra	Bananas	Other Exports	Total Exports	Total Imports
	£A	£A per ton	£A	£A	£A	£A
1933	105,028	9·2	—	9,419	114,447	86,007
1934	59,941	5·9	—	18,901	77,842	48,526
1935	79,003	6·6	—	11,708	90,711	68,782
1936	105,078	8·8	—	11,461	116,539	92,296
1937	158,133	13·1	4,128	2,359	164,620	137,365
1938	90,398	7·3	3,507	4,558	98,463	82,795
1939	64,545	6·1	12,026	3,249	79,820	79,696
1940	43,896	6·0	12,905	5,474	62,275	76,360
1941	25,548	6·0	24,179	6,732	56,459	71,943
1942	89,771	11·0	26,043	4,574	120,388	144,110

timber is obtained. The *toa*, or iron-wood tree, 313
(*Casuarina equisetifolia*,) is somewhat abundant, [137]
but it is not much used by the natives, because
of its excessive hardness and heaviness. Clubs [411)
and spears were made from it in former times.
The large posts required for buildings are obtained [342)
from the *koka*, whose timber is very durable in
the ground. It likewise affords the best firewood;
and a dark liquid which exudes from its trunk, [314]
when the bark has been scraped off, is employed in [386)
stamping patterns upon the native cloth.

Some of the most stately and magnificent trees are only fit for firewood, and some not even for that. Among these may be reckoned the *ovava*, [137) a species of banyan; the *buko*, (belonging to the natural order of *Bombaceæ*,) and the *gatae*, (*Erythrina corallodendron*.) This latter tree is [245] very commonly planted to distinguish the bound- [423) aries of land belonging to different proprietors.

Having considered, so far, the natural produc- 128 tions of the islands, as a whole, we shall now resume 114 our personal narrative, by taking the reader to Vavau, where the first years of our residence were spent.

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anarchy and bloodshed. As one chief, if belonging to the *Hau*, acquired sufficient strength, he disputed the title of the reigning prince; and, if successful, his chance of retaining permanency of power was quite as precarious as that of his predecessor. In some instances, the title established by [669] force of arms, remained in the same family for several generations; disturbed, however, by frequent rebellions.

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The feudal principle, that the whole country belonged exclusively to the king, regulated the disposal and tenure of lands, and necessarily placed the common orders of the community in a condition of serfdom. [692] The king was chief magistrate, and the ultimate source of appeal. [634] His power was frequently delegated to the governors of the various groups of islands, or great districts, and from them to inferior chiefs. No chief could interfere with the tenant of another; and should he desire revenge or justice, it could only be obtained through the legitimate lord, unless he chose to risk a contest. Lands were held in fief. The great landlords derived them by hereditary right, in conjunction with their chieftainships; but held them, nevertheless, at the will of the supreme ruler. These, in turn, subdivided them among their families and followers. It was on the great chiefs that the king depended for military support, which they gladly rendered him, as the title by which they retained their possessions. [651] Through them, also, the king received a general tribute from the people.
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423
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[671]
The chiefs, also, in their order, claimed the service or property of their retainers. This right was regulated by no specific law, so that immense abuses crept in. The lower order was ground

down and oppressed by that above it. Thus, if a 565
man or family possessed flourishing lands, or a 423
stock of hogs or poultry, or any other kind of 425
wealth, these were never secure from the covetous [671]
eyes of a superior. At any moment, any portion
of his goods, or all, might be demanded by an
imperious chief, and appropriated to his own purposes. This system acted as an effectual bar to [241]
general improvement in the cultivation of the soil,
or the acquirement of property, by the mass of the
people. Beside this general right of the chiefs to 565
despoil their inferiors, the king, or his immediate 466
representative, could assess labour upon the entire 643
community, when and how he pleased.

Servile homage was paid to superiors, particularly 565
to priests and chiefs of the highest rank. Neither 554
their persons could be touched, nor their houses
entered, without express permission. Among them
a considerable degree of courtesy prevailed, accompanied by a refinement of language and demeanour,
which indicated conscious rank. The distinction,
indeed, between themselves and the lower classes, [198]
was marked by these things, more than by any
great superiority in houses, or dress, or food; and
that this distinction might be carried to its farthest
limit, the chiefs had a conventional or courtly dialect, understood and used only among and to themselves. Respect for the persons or property of the
common people was unknown, when in conflict
with the covetousness of a superior. If a common 565
man made use of any consecrated property belonging 554
to a chief, or if he came into the presence of a chief 784
with a wreath about his head, or with the head wet,
or should he touch the head of the chief, or reach to
take any object from above where he sat, or should

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

heathen. A council of chiefs was held, who deter- 797
mined, in the first instance, to send a friendly 159
message, entreating his return. Hafoka's answer, however, was firm and decided. "Allow me," said he, "to practise my religion in Houma, and I will return at once. If this be not done, I will never go back. My love for you and for my family is as great as ever, and I fear to offend Vaea, and the other chiefs; but, unless I can return upon the conditions I have named, I will not go back."

Irritated by this firm answer, the ruling chief of Houma sent a party of armed men to take Hafoka by force from Neiafu. He, however, having received timely notice of their approach, made his escape into the bush, where he evaded the pursuers until the strength of their rage was past. After a little while he was left undisturbed; and, by diligent application, he improved rapidly in knowledge, and was soon able to read the holy Scriptures with tolerable fluency.

About this time, King George visited Hihifo, 797
and I then brought Hafoka's conversion and cir- 159
cumstances under his notice, with a request that 423
he would take some interest in his welfare. This 643
resulted in Hafoka receiving a grant of land from the king, upon which he desired Hafoka to settle by himself, and there to await the coming of any of his own family, or his heathen friends, who might be willing to join him from Houma. After considerable hesitation, Hafoka accepted the king's
offer. Having cleared a small portion of bush, and 797
having erected a temporary hut, he waited in solitude 159
for three weeks, at the end of which time, he was visited by his heathen wife from Houma, who had heard of his new location. Soon after that, other

I should now like to add an expression of my deepest gratitude to all 122
who have assisted in the work of which these papers are the result. The project was financed by a grant from the Carnegie Social Science Research Committee of the University of New Zealand, without whose assistance the study could not have been made at all. Professor W. R. Geddes made valuable suggestions in regard to the initial definition of the problem, and as he went away on leave before I left Auckland, the task of direction fell on the shoulders of Professor R. Piddington. In the field I was assisted in a great many ways by people who cannot all be mentioned, but in particular I would wish to add the following to those already mentioned: the Hon. Tu'i Pelehake, Minister of Lands in Tonga, and the members of the Lands Department there; the Chairman of the Copra Board in Tonga; the Hon. G. R. Powles, High Commissioner for Western Samoa, for permission to do research in Western Samoa and for putting me in most effective touch with the officers in his Lands Department; Mr. Ian Stirling (Chief Surveyor) and other members of the Lands Department in Western Samoa; and Mr. Pulotu McCarthy—a wise old man whose family I had met in New Zealand and who provided me with quarters in Apia. In Fiji, my friend Mr. G. J. T. Hansen, Secretary to the Native Lands Trust Board, brought me up-to-date on the latest developments in native land policy there.

1—HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TONGAN LAND TENURE

The main features of the land tenure system operating in Tonga 421
today are well documented. In a moment I shall be summarising them 423
before proceeding to a consideration of how the legal plan is actually [128]
applied to realities on the ground, and of the ways in which the system is related to the organisation of social affairs in village life. But at this point it would be well to point out that as it is set out in 171
the various legislative enactments of the Government of Tonga,[2] the 421
system is, in one major respect, well out of the ordinary run of land 423
tenure systems in Oceanic societies: this is its individualistic character.[3] Although this is decidedly unusual within the context of land tenure in Western Polynesia, it is not so extraordinary if considered in relation to the traditional form of Tongan society.

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[2] The most important are the Land Act 1927 (Chapters XXVII of *The Law of Tonga*); the Land Act (Amendment) Act 1934; and the Leases (Renewal) Act (No. 15 of 1934). [113]

[3] The distinction between "individualistic" and "communalistic" forms of tenure is not always easy to draw, but in this context I shall mean by "individualistic" that in principle one and only one individual is regarded and accepted as having sole rights to a piece of land. Rights may vary in type from absolute ownership of the soil to merely usufructuary rights; but the distinction is irrelevant, for the definition applies *given* these rights. Such an individual may, if he wishes, confer some of the benefits of these rights upon others, but this does not give them a right other than that which he has himself agreed to give. Such a system differs fundamentally from a "communalistic" one in which the rights involved are conferred upon a group of individuals *at the same time*, so that each of them has a right *equal* to that of each of the other members of the group. All powers of administration repose in the whole group, and although certain members only may appear to exercise them, they are clearly recognised to be acting *for* and on behalf of all members. Under such powers they can regulate priorities as to actual use of the land.

In terms of the traditional social and political organisation, all 421
land in Tonga belonged to the sacred Tui Tonga. After the familiar 423
feudal fashion (for traditional Tongan society was a "fully developed 565
feudal system"[4]), there were chiefs who were "lords of large districts 643
of territory"[5] and who held their lands from the king in return for 427
taxes and military service. These "principal barons, as they may be [602]
called"[6] sublet their holdings to their lesser kinsmen and followers,
and everyone held land from his superior in a pattern similar to that
between the king himself and his barons. Gifford quotes W. D.
Alexander in this connection as follows:[7]

> From the Rev. Thos. West we learn that "the lands were held in
> fief." The great landlords held them by hereditary right, but subject
> to the king, and they in turn subdivided them among their kinsmen and
> followers. It was on the great chiefs that the king depended for [701]
> military support, which they willingly rendered him, as the title by
> which they retained their possessions. Through them also the king [651]
> received a general tribute from the people. The chiefs, also in the
> order, claimed the service or property of their tenants. The lowest
> order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. The "Tuas"
> could not call anything their own. The great chiefs could seize on
> whatever took their fancy. Besides, the king or his representatives [466]
> could assess labor upon the whole community whenever he pleased.
> The chiefs also claimed a share of all the fish taken by their tenants. [226]
> The most servile homage was rendered to them as in the Society and [171]
> Hawaiian Islands. On a father's death his property descended to his
> children. On the mother's death her property remained with her [428]
> husband and children, not excepting her *dower* land, which did not
> revert to her own kindred as in the other western groups, where tribal
> tenure prevailed.

This passage needs some elaboration to be entirely clear, for it is 613
closely associated with the lineage organisation of Tonga. The Tongan 565
lineage, known as the *ha'a*, was based upon patrilineal descent, but 622
depended upon the existence of a powerful chief (i.e., an eldest son in a line of eldest sons) at its head to preserve it. With the political vicissitudes of these chiefs, however, their lineages waxed and waned, and at times the weak ones were absorbed by the stronger ones so that *structurally* drastic realignments would occur. The Tongan *ha'a* was therefore not a pure lineage in the classical sense, but a political association of people around a lineage core under a powerful chief. This clarifies Alexander's reference to "kinsmen and followers", for a lineage contained both; and to "the great landlords", who were the heads of these lineages.

What was the role of such a lineage organisation in land tenure? 613
Referring to the present, Gifford says that "the lands of each lineage in 421
Tongatabu tend to form a compact area"[8] and refers to a map which 423
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[4] Alexander 1888, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[5] Cook 1784a:412, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[6] loc. cit.
[7] Alexander 1888, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[8] Gifford 1929:33.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
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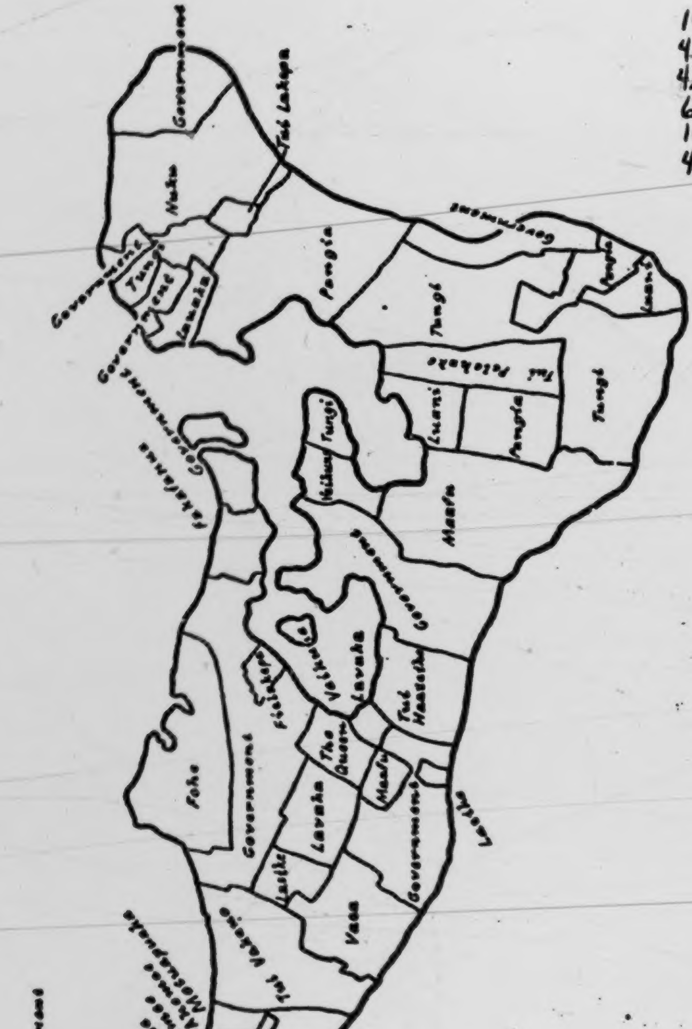
Government
Tui Lakepa
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Tungi
Veikune
Maafu
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Government
Fielakepa
Veikune
Lavaka
Tui Haateiho
The Queen
Maafu
Fohe
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Vaea
Tui Vakano
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Lasike
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Vaha'i
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Ahomee
Veehala
Government
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Veehala

Fig. I
(after Gifford 1929)

illustrates this. But the map concerned is a map of *tofia* or the estates 613
of the modern landed nobles (see fig. 1), so that one is led to the 421
impression that the noble who holds such a *tofia* and the people who 423
rent land from it belong to the same *ha'a*. Thus there appears to have 427
been a broad relationship between the lineage organisation and the holding
of land. But there was certainly nothing in it which took precedence [643]
over the relationship between the king and his "barons", for the land [565]
was clearly held by them from him at his will, not by the lineages themselves.
The tenants within the lineages, for their turn, held their lands [554]
from their landlords as feudal subjects bound directly to them, not as [571]
members of social groups.

This leads us to postulate that the landlords granted land to their 421
subjects as individual tenants, and that therefore there was no form of 423
communal ownership in the current acceptation of the term.[9] If this 427
is accepted, then it would appear a mistake to imagine that in Tongan
land tenure a bold line towards economic individualism has been taken in
respect of land policy in the Pacific, for holdings were always in terms
of individuals. But while there was individual holding, there was [643]
certainly no individual ownership in the sense in which it is generally
understood today, for absolute ownership was the prerogative of the
king, all others having only the usufruct of the lands assigned to them.

Viewed in this way, the traditional land tenure system of Tonga 421
is fairly well preserved in the codified land law of today. While the 423
modern land law has contributed sharper definitions of the major concepts
involved in the system, it introduced few changes, and most of 671
these are not really at variance in any fundamental sense with the 178
system as it traditionally operated. Indeed the source of the most 427
significant changes is well summarised in a passage by Basil
Thompson:[10]

> Chief among the purely Tongan enactments of the new code were the land laws. In former times the soil of Tonga was vested in the Tui Tonga—the spiritual chief. The great nobles and small cultivators held their lands from him, and he had theoretically the right to dispossess them at will. When the office of Tui Tonga became vacant, and the title was absorbed by the present king, the people readily adopted the idea that all the land was vested in the Crown, who had the power to grant holdings in return for taxes. But in 1888, Mr. Baker, wishing to create a landed aristocracy, foolishly caused the king to grant large estates, which he called "inheritances" to a number of hereditary lords, who were to receive from the tenants a rental of $1

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[9] This may appear an extravagant claim, particularly in view of the statement that "on a father's death his property descended to his children", which may be interpreted to imply group holding. Strictly speaking I am unable to refute such an interpretation from the literature; the quotation makes no reference to what happens in the next generation; and Alexander's article itself is not at present obtainable in the main London libraries. But I would suggest that the whole tone of the passage suggests individual holding, referring as it does to subdivision and to tenants. Also, the fact that the statement refers to "a father" implies that he held his rights as an individual rather than a member of a wider social group.

[10] Thompson 1894:230-231, quoted by Gifford 1929:171-172.

> per annum for each holding of about eight acres. In dealing with the
> 421 land I could not hope to rid myself of these superfluous landlords, but
> 423 I could, without evoking dangerous opposition, deprive them of all
> 427 power over their estates. I determined to make the Crown collect their
> 671 rents and pay it over to them, while reserving to itself all rights
> 178 of granting allotments and evicting tenants. Thus for all practical
> purposes the land still belonged to the State; for so long as the rents
> were paid to the lords of the manor, the Government was virtually the
> landlord, and the king had voluntarily made over to the Treasury all
> rents due upon the lands not included within any "inheritance".

Thus the changes affected, while they resulted in a reshuffle at the top of the structure, left the individual family man in much the same position as before. This last point is put most succinctly by the Beagleholes in a passage in their book:[11]

> The villager therefore no more owns his land today than he did in aboriginal times. A former produce "rent" or tribute is now paid in tax money. Present day security of occupancy is probably for many Tongan commoners greater than formerly when the will or caprice of a high official was the only fiat that counted. But in general, the villager has the same type of economy-status claim to his land and its produce as he had under the old system of Tongan land ownership and feudal control.

2—THE PRESENT STATUTARY FRAMEWORK

421 Today all the land in Tonga belongs to the Tongan Crown; but
423 the traditional "inheritances" referred to by Thompson, which corres-
643 pond to the holdings of the "barons" of former times, are now classified
565 into Royal Estates, the estates held by members of the Tongan Royal
Family as their traditional holdings; Noble Estates, the estates held by members of the nobility as their forefathers had done under the king in former times; and Government Estates, the remaining estates which are now under the direct control of the Government of Tonga.[12]
[428] The first two categories are often referred to as hereditary estates to distinguish them from Government estates and are now heritable at law as they were by custom. Each such estate is known as a *tofia* and may run into a thousand or more acres; each member of the Royalty as well as of the nobility may hold several of them in different parts of the kingdom (see fig. 1 for distribution of *tofia* on Tongatapu). From them, allotments are granted to individual Tongans.

425 On reaching the age of sixteen years, every male Tongan is entitled
884 to receive a grant of 8¼ acres[13] of bush land as a tax allotment and a
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[11] Beaglehole 1941:19-20.

[12] I am uncertain as to how these estates came to be in the hands of the Government. See passage from Thompson 1894:230-231, already quoted.

[804] [13] One often wonders why the awkward figure of 8¼ acres. Traditionally the allotments made to individual Tongans measured 100 fathoms x 100 fathoms = 40,000 square yards. 8¼ acres = 39,930 sq. yds.; hence it is simply the traditional measure taken to the nearest ¼ of an acre.

grant of not more than 1 rood 24 perches in a town or village area as a 425
town allotment. Each allotment is called an *api;* the former *api tukuhau* 884
and the latter *api kolo.* There appear to be only two legal restrictions on
where the allotments may be located: the tax allotment and the town 423
allotment must be in the same locality[14] and the holder of an hereditary estate may refuse a grant to someone from a different area if there is not enough land on his *tofia* for all the people living in his own locality. Subject to these reservations, a man who applies for an *api* will normally be granted one if land is available, whether the estate is Royal estate, Noble estate or Government estate.

Although no one may hold more than one *api tukuhau* and one *api* 427
kolo, a man may receive a block of bush land of 12½ acres at a rental of 423
4/- per annum if he forgoes his *api kolo.*[15] Holders of land on hereditary estates may, in addition to the *api tukuhau* already in their possession, be granted a lease of an area not exceeding 5 acres at a nominal rental for a period not exceeding 50 years. Holders of tax allotments on Government estates may be given a lease over a greater area for the same period provided that the lease does not exceed the area of the allotment they already hold.

Each tax allotment carries a tax of 8/- a year and may be forfeited 425
if the holder defaults from paying this amount for three consecutive 423
years. The amount is collected by the Government which pays it over 651
to the member of Royalty or of Nobility from whose estate it comes, or holds it as Government revenue if it comes from a Government estate. But of moneys received as rent from leases on hereditary estates, only 90 per cent goes to the holder.

As the Crown owns all lands, all applications for grants must be 423
made to the Minister of Lands; applications for leases must also be 425
made to him, but can only be authorized by Cabinet. The Minister 427
approves grants only under certain conditions. No land holder may sell
his holding or dispose of it in any way; nor may he enter into any [645]
agreement for profit or benefit regarding the use or occupation of his
land other than in the manner prescribed by the Land Act. An alien [609]
may not hold or occupy land except as provided for in the Act, and a
land holder may not permit an alien to reside on his holding unless the
alien has obtained a permit or lease. An allotment holder must, within [245]
one year from the date of his grant, have growing on his allotment 200 coconut trees planted at intervals of 30 feet and must keep his holding free from weeds. He is not allowed to mortgage or make an agreement
pledging or charging his growing crops. And he may not be expelled [645]
from his allotment by the holder of the *tofia* except on the authority of the Minister of Lands.

While disposal of land by individuals is absolutely forbidden by 423
law, there are provisions in the Land Act by which land may be 428
inherited. 425

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[14] i.e. village locality. This is not coterminous with the *tofia* area, for people in one village may hold land in different *tofia.* This restriction simply means that a man who holds a town allotment in one village cannot hold a tax allotment in another village or in another part of the kingdom.

[15] i.e. he can have the equivalent of 1½ *api* at half the price of one. For a fuller treatment of the land law of Tonga, see Meek 1949.

423 inherited. In the case of hereditary estates the inheritance descends to
the issue of the deceased holder *in infinitum*. Males and females may
428 succeed, but male issue is preferred to female of the same degree.
[562] Thus the estate devolves upon the eldest son of the deceased holder in
the first instance, and if he dies, to his eldest son; if there is no such
son, then to his eldest surviving brother who now carries on the line
[818] under the same rules. A person not born in wedlock may not succeed;
but for this purpose a person is regarded as legitimate even if he was
obviously conceived before the marriage of his parents.

423 There are similar rules regarding tax allotments. The inheritance
428 descends in the first place to the eldest son of the deceased holder; and
562 if he dies, to his eldest son. If there is no such son, then his eldest
surviving brother may succeed. But where there is neither son nor
brother to succeed, an unmarried daughter may succeed for her life.
If there are several daughters, however, they may succeed jointly for
[581] their lives. A female's right to land under these laws may be put aside
[833] if she marries or if she is proved in the Land Court to have indulged
in sexual intercourse. With both males and females interest in land
is never more than a life interest.[16]

3—A SAMPLE TONGAN VILLAGE AND ITS LANDS

The village in which I investigated the operation of this system is
101 situated four miles from the capital town of Nuku'alofa. It is a fairly
162 large village with a population of 653 persons living in 106 households.
621 The village population represents 1.24 per cent of the entire population
of Tonga.

The strongest single force binding the members of the village
621 together is their common allegiance to their high chief who is also the
622 high chief of a number of other nearby villages. He is recognized as
[431] having the authority to call upon every household in the village to
supply gifts of yams and pigs, mats and *tapa* cloth, whenever the need
arises for such accumulations to be made, such as on the marriage or
[431] death of a member of Royalty or of the nobility. Although there are no
specified occasions for the presentation of first fruits to him by the
villagers, and he does not call for any, particular households do occasionally perform the service voluntarily in recognition of his position.[17]
423 Apart from the political aspect of such position, it has also a very
621 important economic aspect: the estate from which individual tax allot-
622 ments are granted to members of the village are his hereditary *tofia*.
Tax allotments are regarded as being held from him, and this exercises
a powerful influence in upholding his authority and strengthening his
position in relation to the whole village.

621 There is also a Town Officer, who is appointed by the Government
644 to be its representative within the village and through whom it makes

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[16] A person who succeeds to the title to land in this context holds the land for himself. He may permit others, including his brothers, to derive sustenance from it, but this gives them no right of their own to it.

[17] See in this connection Beaglehole 1941:19.

its wishes known to the people. As far as the land is concerned, his 621
role is that of a field officer who knows which tax allotments are vacant 644
and which others are occupied and by whom. He was described to me
as being related to the chief.[18]

There are four churches in the village, each belonging to a different 794
denomination. These are the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of 795
Tonga, the Wesleyan Church, and the Mormon Church. Although there
are also Roman Catholics in the village, they have no church of their own. There are church functions within each denomination which demand the co-operation of all its own members. If a Mormon Church is being built, for instance, this is regarded as properly the task of the Mormons only and not of anyone belonging to any of the other Churches, between whom there is only minimal liaison.

Most of the households contain no more than an elementary family. 592
In some cases there are relatives of various descriptions staying with such families, and in others there are guests (including some from other islands in the Tongan Group). In a considerable number of cases it is affinal relatives, such as the wife's mother or brother, who live in the household with the elementary family. In a very limited number of cases, there are more than one married couple in a household. In every case, however, the household is the most persistent unit associated with work on the land.

Of unifying principles covering the *whole* village there are only 621
two: the people's common allegiance and subordination to their chief, 622
and the fact of common allegiance to the Government through its 623
representatives in the village. There is no village council after the [186]
Fijian pattern, or even after the pattern of the Samoan *fono*. There is
indeed a Tongan *fono*, but this is a gathering of all the people to hear the orders of the chief, not one where sectional interests within the village are pitted against one another.

The land upon which the village stands and the lands upon which 622
its members plant their food gardens and cash crops are part of the 423
hereditary *tofia* of the high chief of the area. He has *tofia* in several 361
other parts of Tonga, but the one in which this village is situated comprises the following divisions:

1 block for his own use — — — —	209 acres
101 *api tukuhau* held within the village — —	833 „
40 *api tukuhau* held by members of other villages	330 „
6 *api tukuhau* currently vacant — — —	50 „
1 lease — — — — — —	8 „
Total —	1430 acres[19]

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[18] There is no reference to a Town Officer in Pangai, only to an overseer who performs similar functions, Beaglehole 1941:25, 30.

[19] The figures given are approximate, being based on a calculation allowing roughly 8¼ acres per *api*. In practice *api* are usually 2 or 3 perches more or less than this figure. The 40 *api* held outside the village are held by members of the "next-door" villages. The lease is to a part-European. [563]

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

133 132 134 The land is low-lying and absolutely flat as most of the island of Tongatapu is. Without hills to trap the rain clouds the rainfall is not copious, so that the land, which is highly fertile, is fairly easily worked. The flatness of the country is fully reflected in maps of *api* which appear as neat little squares formed almost by drawing straight lines from one side of the island to the other.

4—ACQUIRING AN *API*

423 425 428 622 644 How does a man set about acquiring an *api*? The commonest way is through inheritance, the rules for which have already been referred to.[20] But for those who cannot inherit, the usual thing done is to wait for an *api* to become vacant. A man then approaches the chief, either directly or through someone related to him, or the Town Officer, to obtain approval for occupying the vacant *api*. Once this is granted, approval by the Lands Department is pretty well assured, and all that remains is to complete the formalities.

For those who come from a different area the business of acquiring land is much more difficult. They may have to 'sit around' in the village for a considerable time before an *api* finally becomes available for them. They could try, of course, by applying directly to the Lands Department; but this is in any case subject to there being enough land to go round in the locality concerned. In every case, considerable influence is exercised at the local level, and the role of hereditary holder of the *tofia* cannot be over-emphasised.

This is the general framework within which a man operates in the business of acquiring land. At this point I would like to quote the cases of three men who were interviewed on this subject:

A

> I come from Niuafo'ou, and am using X's *api* to support both his family and mine. He has another *api* in M but does not use it. He is old and retired now. I am not related to him, but when I first arrived here I went and asked him if I could use his land as he was of the chiefly family and might have been able to help me get land (the chief was not here at the time). He agreed and I have been using his *api* since . . . I did ask the chief for an *api*, but there is none available. I said I would try at E, but the chief said he would let me have one as soon as it becomes available.

B

> I am now living here with my wife and my grandson. I have only one daughter who is married in this village. I have no *api* of my own, but I share the use of her husband's *api* with him, and also use some of V's land. I have my own *api* in Vava'u where I have sons who are using it at present. I have not sold any cash crops from V's land because I just started using it in June. I have planted some bananas there, but 433 the first crop is not yet ready. I do sell bananas from my daughter's husband's land, and the largest number of cases I have packed is about 5. I have no *api* because none is available for me. I am undecided whether to stay here permanently; of course I would like to

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[20] See p. 100.

stay here, if I can get an *api*. I like it here because there are many 423
more facilities here than there are in Vava'u—transport, employment, 425
and also the land is easier to work here, for Vava'u is rough and rocky country . . .

C

I got my *api* from my father. I have two brothers living in this village, but neither has an *api* of his own. There are also two sisters, one of whom is married in this village and the other unmarried. I use my *api*
on my own. I don't sell any copra from it—only bananas; about 10 or [433]
15 cases per shipment. Last time I sold 7 cases, and before that 12.
The most I have ever done is 35 cases . . . I pay 8/- a year for my [651]
api; and sometimes I take my first fruits to the chief. He never asks me for anything . . .

It appears that acquiring land is not as simple an affair as a
perusal of the legal rules would make it out to be. While full control [645]
of the allotment of *api* is legally vested in the Minister of Lands,
there are considerable local factors to be reckoned with. One of the [622]
most important of these is the authority of the hereditary holder of the *tofia*, which appears to be considerable despite the strict letter of the law. For while the law lays it down that application should be made to the Lands Department which should find the land, reference to the holder of the *tofia* being distinctly secondary, in practice this procedure seems to be reversed. Furthermore, while expulsion is a matter for the Minister of Lands to decide, it is difficult to imagine that, from the nature of the chief's authority over his people and their relations to him and to one another, his decision to expel is exactly as meaningless as the legal system is prepared to grant.[31]

5—THE DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGE LANDS

Although land holdings are legally conceived and recorded in terms 423
of individuals, I shall, in this section, consider the distribution of land 121
in terms of households. This approach has distinct advantages from the point of view of a social study, for individuals do not exist *in vacuo* and in any case other features of the Tongan economy are best understood in these terms.

The material already given shows that the number of households 592
in the village and the number of *api* normally held within the village 423
tally pretty well—106 households to 107 *api* (including currently vacant *api*). Hence if distribution were in terms of households the task of allocation would be a relatively simple matter. However, there are several factors always forcing this fairly symmetrical relationship into the oblique position where there are households without *api*, *api* not being occupied by any households, households with more than one *api* and *api* being used by more than one household. The actual distribution of *api* among the 106 households is as follows:

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[31] In this and other matters, the spirit of the culture still plays queer tricks with the letter of the law.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AMONG HOUSEHOLDS

No. of *Api* per Household	No. of Households	Total No. of *Api*
0	27	0
1	62	62
2	11	22
3	4	12
4	2	8
	106	104[22]

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423

One of the most obvious factors making for this uneven distribution is the fact that *api* are held by individuals and not by households. From this point of view the distribution of adult males among households could be expected to give a clue as to the distribution of *api* among households. But there are 151 adult males in the village and their distribution among the various households is as uneven as that of *api*; and in any case there is little correspondence between their distribution and that of *api*, for even women often have *api* of their own. So the explanation must go deeper.

Twenty-seven households are without *api*, and 17 more have more than one: a total of 44 as against 62 which have only one each. Now if we were to suppose that one of the basic ideas behind the whole system is to enable a man to provide sustenance for himself and his dependants, i.e. for those living in his household, it is a serious matter that there should be such a large proportion of cases where this ideal is not achieved. The question arises, then, of how it is that there are so many deviations, and further, how the deviations manage to persist, with or without flagrant defiance of the law.

Examination of the 17 cases in the village where one household is in control of more than one *api* brings to light the following circumstances:

(i) A number of men each in possession of one *api* happen to be living together in the same household, e.g. two or more brothers, a father and son or sons, etc. Several variations are possible here, including one case where the man with the extra *api* is described in my notes as 'a friend who has an *api* but no *api kolo*'.

(ii) People hold *api* for others who are away for the time being. This is very understandable from the terms of the land law. As long as use of the land conforms to the provisions of the Act and the tax on it is paid, the land cannot be lost. Thus there are people who have *api* being held in their names for years on end while they are away from the village; and some even spend a time overseas without losing their holdings. In one case an *api* was being held by a married woman on the pretext that it is for her brother who is not yet old enough to inherit it legally.

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[22] This figure includes 3 *api* vacant on the map but occupied on the ground.

(iii) Females living within the household may have *api* of their 592
own which they have inherited themselves, e.g. a wife's mother. 423

(iv) Sometimes there is a time lag between the death of one holder and the accession of another.

(v) There do occur little connivances in these matters, especially where the person concerned is either related to or on specially good terms with the nobility.

This explains the case of households which have more than one *api*. But there are 27 households which have no *api*. One of these is where an old woman is living by herself without an *api* but the rest are cases where men are heads of households without *api*. Of these 26, 20 are men from another village or locality, and only 6 are men from this village. Of these 6, 2 have *api* in another village, and 3 others have just recently set up household on their own while still working land held by their fathers or elder brothers.[23]

Of the 20 men who come from another village, two have *api* in their own villages, two others are using *api* belonging to others, and 16 are sharing the use of the *api* of their friends and relatives in the village.[24]

Of the 27 households which have no *api* of their own in the village, 4 have *api* in another village, 4 others are using *api* the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the *api* of others. Of these 19, 13 share the *api* of one other household, 4 those of two others, 1 those of three others and 1 those of four other households.

By making these kinds of arrangements, the villagers are able to cope with circumstances not contemplated within the legal framework, though not strictly by illegal manipulation. The system, therefore, has some overall flexibility, the source of which is, of course, little more than the willingness of the people to share the *api* under their legal control with those people who have none.

Finally, something may be said about the relation of the distribu- 423
tion of land under this system to the distribution of money income in 434
the village. Under the conditions of my field work this was a difficult
question to investigate as I was not in the field long enough to introduce [119]
and discuss topics of this kind. But a small number of observations may be made. The main sources of money income from the land are copra and bananas, and a considerable amount is also earned from the
sale of vegetables and garden produce. The price of bananas is about [435]
10/- per case and there are two shipments each month; thus B's and C's statements at pp. 102-3 provide some basis for calculating the amount that an individual may earn by the sale of bananas. On the sale of garden produce I have no figures; but from the records kept at the offices of the Copra Board in Nuku'alofa I was able to obtain some figures relating to copra production. From a list of 80 odd names of persons from the area of this village kept by the Board, I was able to recognise 25 as the names of heads of households which appear in my notes. The

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[23] The arrangement is a temporary expedient until *api* of their own are found.

[24] See secton on Land Use, p. 107.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

The
423 Board's records showed the total amount of copra sold to it by these
434 persons during the year 1957; and from these figures, taking the price
[435] of copra as £40 per ton,[23] a rough estimate can be made of how much
money the sellers received. These figures, together with those obtained from my data on the distribution of both land and adult male labour among the households concerned, are presented in the following table:

TABLE 2A

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433
434

DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY INCOME FROM SALE OF COPRA[24]

Household	No. of Adult Males in Household	No. of *Api* in Household	Amount of Copra Produced (tons)	Income from Copra (£)
1	1	0	.14	5.6
2	1	1	1.75	70.0
3	1	1	1.65	66.0
4	1	1	1.65	66.0
5	1	1	.18	7.2
6	2	2	2.15	86.0
7	1	1	1.80	72.0
8	1	1	.19	7.6
9	1	3	.36	14.4
10	1	1	1.65	66.0
11	1	1	.24	9.6
12	2	1	1.38	55.2
13	2	2	3.35	134.0
14	1	1	2.49	99.6
15	2	1	1.78	71.2
16	2	1	5.99	239.6
17	2	2	1.79	71.6
18	1	1	1.00	40.0
19	3	3	3.99	159.6
20	1	1	1.72	68.8
21	1	2	1.67	66.8
22	1	1	1.63	65.2
23	2	1	.90	36.0
24	2	1	1.38	55.2
25	1	2	.92	36.8

The same data may be presented in summary form to show the covariation between amount of labour, amount of land, and income more simply:

TABLE 2B

No. of Adult Males per Household	No. of Households	Total No. of *Api*	Average *Api* per Household	Total Income (£)	Average Income per Household (£)
1	16	19	1.2	761.6	41.35
2	8	11	1.4	748.8	93.6
3	1	3	3.0	159.6	159.6

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[23] The price during 1957 was in the region of £43, but just before I left Tonga the new price of £38/15/0 per ton of first grade copra had been announced by the Board, which buys all the copra produced in Tonga. The round figure of £40 is taken for convenience.

[24] Interesting comparison may be made with the figures in Beaglehole 1941:60ff.

This sample is too small, but for what it is worth in the absence 434
of a larger sample, the correlation coefficients between labour and pro- 592
duction and between land and production suggest that money income 423
varies more readily with the quantity of labour available than with the 433
amount of land; i.e. a man is more likely to obtain a greater income by working harder than by increasing his land holding.[27] Uneven as it is, therefore, the distribution of land exerts only a minimal influence upon the amount of money obtained. This may partly explain why an uneven distribution of land tends to be left undisturbed; but this latter tendency may be tolerable only at the present level of economic development and may tend to disappear at a higher level.

6—LAND USE AND LABOUR

The legal provision relating to the planting of coconuts at intervals 311
of 30 feet is, by and large, followed consistently on the majority of the 245
api I have seen. Amongst the coconut trees there would be food and 244
cash crops of several types, bananas, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, *manioke*, and even pineapples and water melons. In general, these are not planted in sharply defined plots but are interspersed one amongst the others, so that in an intensively cultivated *api*, members of all species would be found on each square chain of ground. This is more or less the general pattern, although there may be varying degrees of emphasis upon particular crops in particular parts of the *api*. Varying the pattern of emphasis would appear to me to play a similar role to straight out rotation.

The coconut trees belong to the planter but are heritable with 423
the land on his death or secession; and as their normal productive life [428]
is 50 or 60 years, they may change hands several times during their lifetime.[28] But the other crops, requiring from three to eighteen months to mature, are the property of the planter, whether he be the legal holder of the land or not.

The distinction between permanent and annual crops makes it 423
easier to understand all the sharing of *api* referred to in the previous 311
section. For while the current holder of an *api* owns the coconut trees 241
and other permanent resources, he need not have the whole *api* under 476
the less permanent crops at any one time.[29] This gives him room to permit a friend or relative to plant for himself a crop of taro or yams

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[27] My calculations produced correlation coefficients of r = .32 and r = .54 for land and labour respectively.

[28] The evidence of the 107 *api* which I studied shows that several of them had changed hands twice or thrice in the previous five or six years.

[29] The Beagleholes quote a man who estimated that up to twenty cultivators and their families can live off one *api*, Beaglehole 1941:18, but it is not clear whether this refers to an ordinary *api* of 8¼ acres or to one of the larger ones which may be up to 20 acres in area, Beaglehole 1941:17. In this connection it may be interesting to note that in a village of about twenty households which I studied in Fiji, the total area covered by food crops in various stages of development was found by detailed measurement to be 8.1 acres for all households.

423 on a section of it, always on the understanding that the holder has the
311 right to demand it back after the crop is taken out. No rights other
241 than those of cultivation accrue to the borrower. Although such an
476 arrangement involves definitely no rent in money or in kind, it is advantageous to the allotment holder in that the section so lent is
[427] thereby kept free from weeds and heavy undergrowth.[30] The fact that no rent is involved actually strengthens the hand of the holder when he demands his land back. As far as rights to land are concerned, the same principles apply when a man uses part of the *api* legally held by his brother, or when a number of brothers use the *api* of their father.

592 Individual land holders can call upon several types of *work groups*
241 to assist them in working their land. The most important work group
[476] is the household which, under the leadership of the head of household, performs most of the day-to-day tasks of cultivation. Its importance lies in its relative permanence. For while the other work groups considered below come into operation only in connection with the heaviest tasks such as clearing and occasionally planting, and therefore tend to be relatively impermanent, the household deals with the constantly recurring need for weeding and other minor tasks, and is the only unit which can engage in long term planning on the basis of its own self-interest. It is the basic unit of production and consumption; and its members are bound together by common interests which transcend the
[476] economic sphere. Its significance needs no further elaboration. But beyond this unit, three other types of work group are found: the *tou ngaue*, the *kautaha* and the *tou lalaga*.

476 The *tou ngaue* is a working party which may comprise anything
241 from two or three men to about eight or nine, the members of which
[462] work co-operatively for each of the members in turn. The members are not fed by the person for whom they are working as in the case of Pangai reported by the Beagleholes,[31] but each feeds himself and then goes back to work. In this way they achieve the ends which demand co-operative work, but avoid the encumbrance of preparing food for others. At the time of my investigation, there were three *tou ngaue* in the village under investigation. Their memberships were 3, 5, and 8 men respectively.

476 Kinship does not appear to play an important part in the formation
241 of these groups. While there are occasional *tou ngaue* which have a large proportion of members who are kin, the principle of kinship
602 does not specifically enter into the definition of the *tou ngaue* as such. When asked whom he would choose to be members of his *tou ngaue*, a man once replied, "My friends". But when pressed further to define what he meant by "friends", he said, "Those who work hard on my plantation". "Would you choose your brothers or close relatives particularly?" "No". The relationship seems therefore to be a purely economic one.

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[30] The sort of arrangement involved in the work group known as the *tou tu'u* described by the Beagleholes is particularly interesting in this regard, Beaglehole 1941:33-34.

[31] Beaglehole 1941:32.

This table shows that it is certainly not a case of "every household being related to every other household", and emphasizes the comparative independence of Tongan households. All the same the figures are remarkably low, even for a Tongan village, I am told. How is this to be explained? 592 602

It seems that at least part of the explanation is to be found in the fact that there are so many people in the village who come from a different area: 47 of the 106 households in the village are those of men who are not of local origin, their places of origin being tabulated below:[34] 621 592 166

TABLE 4

PLACES OF ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Place of Origin of Head of Household	No. of Households
Niuafo'ou — — — — — — —	6
Niuatoputapu — — — — — —	3
Ha'apai — — — — — — —	18
Vava'u — — — — — — —	8
Tungua — — — — — — —	3
Eua — — — — — — — —	4
Other (mainly villages in Tongatapu) — —	5
	47

Now 47 out of 106, representing 44.5 per cent of all the households in the village, is an unusually high figure compared with, for instance, Fiji. From discussions in Tonga, I am told that it is also a high figure even for a Tongan village, so that this village must be regarded as atypical in this respect. But why this unusual feature? [171]

The land tenure system, of course, in its principles opens up the possibility for movement from one area to another in search of land, and may be expected to produce effects of the type noticed in this village. In fact, however, explanation of the mixed nature of the village population was given to me in terms of the relatively central position of the village and its proximity to the capital town and to the schools and other institutions situated in or around it. Something of this was seen in B's comment on p. 102; but it can be confirmed by figures relating to the distribution of land in the village itself. Below is a table of the relative distribution of land among households of local and of immigrant origin respectively: [423] [361] 621 592 423 166

TABLE 5

RELATIVE LAND DISTRIBUTION AMONG LOCAL AND IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

No. of Api per Household	No. of Households		Percentage of Households in Each Category	
	L.	I.	L.	I.
0	7	20	12	42.5
1	39	23	66	49
2	7	4	12	8.5
3	4	—	6.5	—
4	2	—	3.5	—
	59	47	100.0	100.0

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[34] The first six places named are other islands in the Tongan Group, except Ha'apai, which is a group of islands within the Tongan Group.

It is clear that the people who come from another village or island
592 fare worse than those of local origin as far as land distribution is
621 concerned. While I have no data comparing their position here with
423 what it would have been in their own villages (and it is likely that
166 they are worse off here) it seems clear that their presence in this
village cannot be explained consistently in terms of any search for
land. As far as the land tenure system is concerned, therefore, it would
appear wrong to suppose that just because it opens up the possibility
for movement, such movement will actually take place.

8—LAND TENURE AND VILLAGE STRUCTURE

From the material already given it seems clear that the structure
621 of this village is certainly not based upon a firm lineage organisation.
613 The overall principle which binds the people together is simply their
622 common subjection to their traditional overlord. The amorphous nature
[592] of kinship in its role of binding together the different households of the
village has been demonstrated, so that from this point of view the
[166] village is largely an aggregation of isolated households. It has been
pointed out that the village is atypical in having so many persons who
come from other areas, and much of the nature of the village structure
must be due to this factor. But how far the village is also atypical in
respect of its lack of an overall lineage organisation is not clear, and I
made no specific comparative enquiries along these lines. The data
supplied by Gifford,[35] however, suggest that the tendency is for the
large modern villages to be of the form observed here.

Such a form of village structure is, I suggest, rather to be expected
621 from the nature of village evolution in Tonga. The development of the
361 nucleated village form is of comparatively recent origin, dating back
178 to certainly not earlier than the 17th century. Before that there were
only peasant farmers cultivating their holdings from farmsteads
613 scattered throughout the countryside. From the nature of the Tongan
622 lineage, it is clear that not all such farmers who came under the control
621 of any particular chief need necessarily be related by blood. When
361 they came together to form villages, therefore, it was more on the
basis of common allegiance to the feudal overlord than on the basis of
relationship in the male line.

To return to our village, however, we may say that although ties
621 of kinship or lineage affiliation between households are of attenuated
613 development in this village, they are supplemented by other ties—those
602 based upon religious affiliation, economic co-operation, and even on
571 general "friendship". In a large part, these ties have developed as a
result of living together in villages; and, taken together with kinship
ties, they are seen to influence the distribution (using this word in its
widest sense) and working of the land in ways which are not contemplated by the legal system, but which do not therefore violate it. Land
[423] tenure, for its part, also produces certain associations and interdependencies between households, which play an important part in the
final elaborations of the village structure.

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[35] Gifford 1929:8-10.

9—SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON LAND TENURE IN TONGA

There is no question that in legal conception the Tongan land 423
tenure system is fundamentally individualistic in character. Land 421
titles, which we saw refer to usufruct only, are granted in the name of
individuals, not of social groups; and insofar as it is consistent with 671
the provisions of the law, such individuals can and do enjoy their rights
absolutely as individuals. They are at liberty to confer the benefits of
those rights upon whom they please, provided it is not for profit and
not upon an alien; and there is room for individuals to move from one
api to another, again provided that certain conditions are satisfied.

But the law makes certain highly significant restrictions upon
this individualism. For instance, one is denied the right of disposal
of one's property—a feature normally associated with individual title.
This provision hinders the development of an open market in land, and [437]
therefore denies the system the benefits of such a market. One such
benefit is the ability of labour and/or capital to move freely between
different pieces of land; this possibility is limited here. Such freedom
of movement, moreover, is itself limited by the provision that one's *api
tukuhau* and *api kolo* must be in the same locality. By and large this
means that people can obtain land most easily only in the village of
their fathers or, at any rate, in the *tofia* area of their own traditional
chief (moving to a new area entails breaking new ground socially,
economically and, in a sense, legally as well). Therefore, insofar as
they follow the path of least resistance, they tend to be confined within
such a *tofia* area; and insofar as this applies, the limiting proviso could
potentially lead to unnecessary congestion in conditions of rapid population
increase, and could also be a serious setback in a developing
economy, for freedom of movement is an important condition for an
economically efficient distribution of land.

From the economic point of view, therefore, such restrictions are
bad. But such a stricture implies certain assumptions about economic
organization which probably do not apply to Tonga. Indeed it could be
argued that at the present stage of economic development in Tonga,
the land tenure system has certain social advantages which probably
more than outweigh the economic weaknesses. Thus it seems clear that 178
apart from a strict and precise definition of the major concepts which 421
govern the land tenure system, the land law of Tonga has made few 423
really significant changes, and we have seen that some of these changes 671
are not strictly recognised in social practice. The most important set
of conditions (that which concern the relation of the landlord to his 178
tenants), therefore, remain largely unaffected. The *tofia* holder still 622
has, in practice, much authority with regard to the control and distribution 423
of land; and the people's obligations to him in regard to social 421
and economic service are still in force. But in addition, the chief now [434]
enjoys an extra income from the tax on land, and from the extra lands
which he holds himself. In this way the land tenure system actually
bolsters up the traditional political system by giving it powerful
economic support. Moreover, through the provisions relating to inheritance, [428]
the system is brought into close relation with one of the most

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

622 important features of Tongan society—viz., patrilineal descent. In
423 these ways, the system plays a highly useful role in the preservation of
421 the Tongan social form.

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178 One may, of course, argue that after all the system is not really all
that different from a full-blown communalistic one. For units of land
423 (*tofia*) are still tied to groups of people (or the other way round if one
421 wishes) in such a way that the restrictive features of a communalistic
system still apply. But there is no need to press such an argument too
far, for the system provides only that one's *api tukuhau* and *api kolo*
must be together, not that they must be in the *tofia* of one's traditional
chief.

Indeed this point embodies the most important principle in Tongan land tenure which may well be considered in relation to future land development in other Pacific territories: the system contains the seeds for the liberation of land resources from the social groups in which, in systems such as the Fijian and the Samoan, they are often locked up. Within the Tongan context this principle is hampered only by the operation of certain limiting conditions—both social and legal—which, however, are particular and need not be an absolute barrier. At a higher level of economic development, when economic relations may be expected to be less personal, the possibilities opened up by this feature of the system may be capable of fuller realisation. At present, however, such factors are probably more important in limiting the possibilities of the system than, say, the claim that a system of taxing land rather than individuals militates against the desire to acquire land, for which no confirmation came my way. This claim, however, remains a potential danger to the system, and may become a real problem if taxation were raised to a much higher level. In any case, while the system has distinct possibilities, its implications should be clearly recognised before claims are made for its propriety elsewhere.

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All land in Tonga is ultimately the property of the Crown, and the sale of it is forbidden. However, the law states that every male, upon reaching the age of 16, is entitled to 2/5 acre of town land, plus 8¼ acres of farm land in the bush—for which he is responsible and must pay an annual tax ($3.20). But with the fast-growing population, there is a shortage of land, so smaller-sized plots are being allocated. In the photo above, the Tongan Minister of Lands, Honorable Tuita (seated), is allotting land in 'Eua. [432] [651]

'I hono fakatotolo fakaikiiki, 'oku ma'u 'e he Kalauni 'a e kelekele kotoa 'i Tonga. 'Oku pehe 'e he lao 'oku totonu ke ma'u 'e he tangata Tonga kotoa kuo ta'u 16 ha konga 'api kolo fe'unga mo e vahenima 'e ua'o e 'eka, pea mo e 'api 'uta fe'unga mo e 'eka 'e 8¼. Ko e tukuhau 'o e kelekele ni ko e $3.20. Ka 'oku fu'u si'isi'i e kelekele pea 'ikai lava ai ke tufa kakato. Ko e ta eni 'o Tuita *('a ia 'oku me'a 'i he sea 'i lotomalie 'o e ta)* lolotonga 'a'ene tofi kelekele 'i 'Eua.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

161 population movement and the rapidity and extent of its growth since
1956 are likely to have important consequences which will bear
162 heavily on traditional political, social and economic customs and
166 practices throughout the kingdom. Until the mid-1950s, population
361 movement was more especially to rural Tongatapu rather than to
Nuku'alofa. Thus during this period (1931-56) Nuku'alofa's annual growth rate (5.2 percent) was less than that of rural Tongatapu (6.3 percent), but since then the growth rate of Nuku'alofa (7.4 percent) has exceeded that of rural Tongatapu (5.3 percent). The most urban part of the town, Kolofo'ou, grew at an even faster rate (8.6 percent) while nearby Havelu Loto, the centre of the only sizeable industry on the island,[17] grew at the fantastic annual rate of 35.7 percent between 1956 and 1966. Where village growth exceeded or nearly approximated that of Nuku'alofa, it was either in very small villages, where an influx of a handful of settlers would give apparently spectacular increases, or in settlements to the centre and east of the island for reasons noted above. In 1956 Nuku'alofa contained 29 percent of Tongatapu's population and 16 percent of that of the kingdom; in 1966 these percentages had risen to 33 and 20 respectively.[18] This demonstrates both the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa in terms of total population and the marked tendency for population movement to Tongatapu to be urban-orientated.

Factors *pushing* people out of the outer islands and *pulling* them
[554] towards Tongatapu and Nuku'alofa are: the greater opportunities for
[511] social mobility in recent years: the changing economic needs of the
[505] average Tongan; easier transport between islands; and, more recently,
[207] the advertising (over the Tongan radio) of the attractions of Nuku'alofa;
[147] overpopulation; land tied up in title disputes and in other ways kept
[423] back from distribution; the low price for copra; two hurricanes in the
[435] northern islands in 1961 and 1963; and the decimation of the banana
[132] by black leaf streak and other diseases in Vava'u. If one single cause
[245] can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for
money.[19]

It is not possible to know which islands and villages have recently
contributed most to Nuku'alofa's growth, for the 1966 census contained
[127] no special statistics on towns. The following remarks, therefore, are
[101] based mainly on information extracted from the 1956 census sorting

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[655] [17] Quasi-government industries producing coconut by-products and furniture.

[18] Of the other two towns, Neiafu contained 23 percent of the Vava'u population in 1956 and 26 percent in 1966; the respective figures for Pangai-Hihifo were 28 and 25 percent. Neiafu grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent; Pangai-Hihifo lost population (—0.5 percent p.a.)

[19] Walsh (1964): 179-197 discusses migrants' reasons for moving to Nuku'alofa. Some implications of these factors are discussed below. See 'Mobility and Economic Development.'

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

161 of the migratory chain will observe traditional obligations towards their
162 fellow kinsmen which to date have tempered the full effects of migration.
166 If continued migratory pressures should cause a change of values
at this level, it seems highly probably that attitudes towards authority, rank and status in general will also change. This could have serious consequences for government.

The effects of migration on the outer islands should also not be
871 under-rated. Informants stated that boys successful in their schooling did not return from Tongatapu.[26] The outer islands are therefore losing their most talented youth, people who could become what Breese calls 'representatives of decentralising government programs.'[27] The decline of commercial activity has lead to an exodus of a small but vital group of part-Tongans and Europeans, and many Tongan families exercising traditional roles of leadership have also left for Tongatapu.

464 Even more serious is the rapid growth of Nuku'alofa where, despite
162 government efforts, the number of jobs available continues to decline.
Nearly half of the males in the working age group (20-59 years)
423 claimed, during fieldwork in 1963, to be employed in agriculture. It
162 was then estimated that some 31 percent of household heads were without access to land. The 1966 census showed the situation to be more serious: Fifty-eight percent of all Tongan males were without land, and 83 percent in the 15-29 year age group; while 67 percent of Nuku'alofa males had no land, and the figure for the 15-29 year age
464 group could also be expected to be higher. While Nuku'alofa accounted
162 for a higher proportion of those in non-agricultural activities in 1956,
women constituted 35 percent of the work force and government provided over a quarter of the jobs. As the percentage of those employed in non-agricultural activities decreased slightly (20 to 19 percent) between 1956 and 1966, it is clear that the overall employment situation had deteriorated. When one realises that 'persons entering the work force in the next ten years will be eight times greater than those retiring' the task of providing further employment is formidable.[28] In such a situation it will be politically disastrous if measures are not designed to create an increasing number of jobs and to encourage people to remain in rural areas.

179 Hirschman has suggested three alternatives in planning: dispersal, concentration on growing points, and the promotion of backward areas. Both he and Lewis have argued strongly for a concentration on growing points, claiming that 'unbalanced growth . . . sets up pressures,

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[26] Walsh (1964): 165.

[27] Breese (1966): 42.

[28] McArthur (1963): Table 3, estimates those seeking non-primary employment would number 13,460 by 1971, assuming no expansion of primary industries since 1956, and 9,030 if such expansion is commensurate with the growth of the work force.

wettest months throughout Tonga, but the seasonal 132
pattern differs markedly from year to year. Applying Mohr's definition of a dry month (Mohr, 1944)[1] Nuku'alofa and Pangai have much the same incidence of dry conditions (with 23 and 25 per cent of all months in their respective rainfall records classed as dry), and are appreciably less humid than Neiafu with only 16 per cent of months classed as dry.

With the exception of some of the western Ha'apai 134
islands, where the soils are underlain by tuff, all the soils in the three main groups are underlain by coral limestone, but the major parent material appears to be the volcanic ash which has covered all the raised limestone islands. The main soil type is a fertile, friable soil termed *kelefatu* by Tongans and varying in texture from a loamy sand to a clay. The other significant type, *tou'one*, is a sandy and less fertile soil found at low elevations near the sea, and is proportionately most important in Ha'apai. About 85 per cent of the total area of the raised limestone islands is suitable for cultivation.

Most of the agricultural land has been surveyed 241/
into allotments which are generally eight and a 423 ●
quarter acres in size, except in Ha'apai and parts of Tongatapu and Vava'u where because of the population density, holdings have been reduced to between three and six acres. The allotments are held by individuals as lifetime inheritable leaseholds, but about 60 per cent of those males entitled to land do not in fact have an allotment and either borrow the use of land or depend entirely on other types of employment (Maude, 1970).

Population distribution is uneven. In Ha'apai, 161
southeastern Vava'u and western Tongatapu crude 162
population densities are comparatively high and range from about 450 to 700 persons per square mile, whereas in western and northeastern Vava'u and central and eastern Tongatapu densities are around 200 to 300 persons per square mile.[2] These [134]
contrasts in population density date back to at least the nineteenth century and probably earlier and

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[1] A dry month is one in which rainfall is less than 60 mm (2.36").

[2] Population densities are based on the 1966 Census (Kingdom of Tonga, 1968).

121 of Tongatapu Island 16 miles from the capital, Nuku'alofa. This village
[101] was selected for field work because it is one of the most isolated villages in
Tongatapu and because it is supposed to have retained the traditional way
of Tongan life. The size of the village was also suitable for the study.
124 Although I tried to speak the Tongan language as much as possible for
my daily life, the information for the study was collected in English
through an interpreter who was nineteen years old.

I The Village

The People

162 According to the Government census of 1956(5) the population of
161 Nukuleka was 209 (107 males, 102 females). There were 219 (109
621 males, 110 females) by my enumeration in December 1962. In spite of
the rapid population growth of the Kingdom in recent years, the increase
621 of population of this village has been slight. Among these 219 persons,
162 there are 15 temporary residents made up of two families whose heads
serve as the stewards for the two different churches in this village. These
621 15 residents being excluded, 204 is the village population. Of these 37
166 were born outside the village (male 10, female 25 and children 2). Eight
[162] married men have come from elsewhere and two younger single men live
at the home of relatives. The 25 women are married to the villagers. The
two children were brought here on their mother's second marriage.
Against the 37 who moved in, there are 36 who moved out of this village
(male 13, female 23). This figure is the number of persons who are
brothers and sisters of the present villagers and were born in Nukuleka but
now live elsewhere. It is difficult to count the moved-out otherwise. Most
of them, especially women, married out, and a few left the village because
they received land in another place or because they were adopted by the
relatives.

621 All the inhabitants are Tongan. There are 49 adult men over sixteen
423 years of age who are old enough to be entitled to receive *api tukuhau*, tax
allotment, and *api kolo*, town allotment, and at the same time are obliged
[651] to pay poll tax according to the Tongan law. The village had been the
[651] noble estate held by S. Pangia, but the Government took over direct control in the 1920s.(6) Simultaneously, the Government confiscated extra
land from the men who had had larger *api tukuhau* and redistributed
them to more villagers. Today, however, only 28 villagers have *api
tukuhau* of about 8¼ acres each. A further 21 who are entitled to it have
not yet received it. The latter borrow the land to cutivate from their
[463] relatives or friends. Therefore, all men, without exception, are working
[241] the land.

621 Besides agriculture, the villagers are engaged in fishing. The village
226 location being favourable to fishing, a number of men go out to sea nearly
[432] every day. Most of the fish are consumed within the village, but a few

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5. Report on the Result of the 1956 Census by Authority, 1958.
6. In the map after Gifford (1929) Nukuleka was a noble estate held by Paniga. A villager told me that the Government had examined the documents of the village in the law court and had taken it lawfully from him, although I could not find the record in the office.

16

MACHIKO AOYAGI

1 The fourth son of 5 (twenty five years old in 1962) : 592

He worked the *api tukuhau* of his wife's mother who received it from 591 her second husband, and he resides in part of this *api tukuhau* with his wife and daughters.

17 The first son of 9 (twenty four years old in 1962) :

He has neither *api tukuhau* nor *api kolo.* Before 1960 when he married, he had been working on his father's *api tukuhau,* and is now working on the *api tukuhau* of the Catholic Church. He had stayed with his parents until 1960 when the *api kolo* of his father's sister became vacant and he shifted his residence there, building his house by himself with coconut trunks and leaves given by his father.

19 The first son of 21 (twenty five years old in 1962) :

Having no *api tukuhau,* he works on the land of his close friend. He received *api kolo* in 1961 from 32 who is his father's mother's brother, and built his house with materials from his father's land. His first son was born in 1960.

23 The third son of 28 (twenty six years old in 1962) :

Having neither *api tukuhau* nor *api kolo,* he tills a portion of his father's land and expects that his elder brother who lives in another village will give him his *api tukuhau* located in Nukuleka. He had stayed in his father's household for a while after his marriage. Then, he and his wife moved to the house built by his elder brother in his *api kolo.*

Except for 14 and 19, the above householders have neither *api* 592 *tukuhau* nor *api kolo.* To have one's own *api tukuhau* is not an indis- 423 pensable condition to form an independent household, because in the Tongan way of life one can freely ask to borrow the land for cultivating from relations and friends. One can borrow even more freely *api kolo* for the purpose of building the house. Building a house is not expensive. It is easy to get from one's father, coconut trunks and leaves for pillars, [592 roof and walls, and to build it oneself. Generally speaking, a man sets up 591] his independent household a few years after his marriage. Based on the peculiar land system of the Kingdom and owing to the mutual aid among the relatives, the fission of a household takes place quite easily.

Supporting Old Parents

In the last phase of a family cycle an old couple or one of them will 592 remain. However, in this village none of these old men and women 888 keep their own households. One of their married children stays with them. There seems no rule about the person who stays at home in order [591] to take care of the old parents.

commoners(9) that may serve for tracing the step of family seems to dis- 592
courage villagers from striving to continue their households. The in- [557]
heritance rule for movable property, such as agricultural tools or domestic [428]
animals, is not fixed. They do not, anyway, seem to be important items
favouring the formation of an extended family.

The Rule of Residence on Marriage

The 36 couples of the village may be classified into four groups 591
according to place of birth. 621

(a)	Husband born in Nukuleka and wife born in another village	22
(b)	Husband born in another village and wife born in Nukuleka	6
(c)	Both of them were born in Nukuleka	6
(d)	Both of them were born in another village	2

166

In the majority of marriages either wife or husband have come from the outside. If I may now use the terms, virilocal residence when a wife comes from another village, and uxorilocal residence when a husband comes from other village, the following argument will be in order.

Since the village population is not large, few marriages are locally [582]
endogamous. The majority are virilocal; there are only six examples of
uxorilocal residence, including three cases in which the husbands had lived in Nukuleka before they married. One of the three cases (21) had succeeded in acquiring *api tukuhau* and had settled in Nukuleka in his youth. The other five husbands, except one who was from Nuku'alofa, came from remote islands; two from Ha'apai, and one each from Niuaatoputapu and Vaca'u. They have *api tukuhau* neither in their home villages nor in Nukuleka. It may be guessed that it is not economically serious for them to leave behind their native place and move to their wife's village. Above all, they seem to prefer to come to Tongatapu rather than to stay in small outer islands.

Two men (classified as group d) from Vava'u had been here before they married women from another village. One, whose mother was born in this village, came here in 1943 to stay with his mother's brother and a few years later he could receive *api tukuhau* from his mother's father. The other, whose father was native to this village, came here with his
parents in his childhood. Being still young and having not received *api* 591
tukuhau yet, he cultivates his step-mother's land. Those two marriages 621
may well be classified as virilocal. Although virilocal residence is most
common, uxorilocal residence is also permissible. Whether the husband 423
has or is likely to acquire *api tukuhau* or not seems to be important in 591
determining the residence for a couple. In spite of the land system prescribed by the law, a large number of men have, nowadays, difficulty in getting *api tukuhau*. A man who acquired it in some way or other would not agree to leave his village upon marriage.(10)

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9. At least Laka has a family name. There has been a growing habit that children going to school use a joint name of their personaal and father's name. The father's name in this case is used as if it were the family name. See Koch 1955: 91.
10. Aoyagi 1964: 124 140.

10

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale 796
of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who 574
gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his 602
mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother 612
(22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between
whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free [795]
Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are
Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not [776]
for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of
the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, [794]
who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it
are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of [795]
the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their
wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic,
and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan
Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church.
Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious [476]
character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected
on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular
rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the [782]
new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second
son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this
feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was [476]
helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34,
18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6, 20, 23 (the households of his
mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's
relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations [476]
helped him more.

Land Use

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen 423
years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8¼ acres as *api tukuhau* and [884]
1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always
in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government 423
Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 621
have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or,
even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder
brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining
11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households.
The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of 423
api tukuhau for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her 426
second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; 621
father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother;
wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic
Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their 423
famili or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They 621

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423 are not reluctant to ask for help from their *famili;* one may *kole* (ask)
621 foods, money, land use for cultivating or housing, and so forth. And one
612 who is asked for something by one's *famili* would not refuse it. In case
[241] they borrow a portion of *api tukuhau* of their *famili,* they can usually
plant and harvest any crop they like. The only exception is that the
[245] borrower has no right to get the coconuts from trees already planted. The
[434] coconuts are the chief source of the cash income for the villagers. When
[427] I asked them "What do you pay for the use of the land?" a common
answer to this question is that he (she) is my *famili,* which suggests their
idea that they do not have to pay to their *famili.*

Prohibition of Marriage

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582 Marriage prohibition extends bilaterally towards the farthest relationship. If two persons recognise themselves as belonging to the same *famili,* even if their actual relationship may not be traceable, they must not marry. A man and woman in the same generation in the same *famili* stand as brother and sister; the former should respect and protect the
588 latter. But in a different village, I know of a couple consisting of a man and his father's (classificatory?) sister's son's daughter. The story about their marriage is as follows. They had lived in the same village and the boy fell in love with her. Every time he came to see the girl, her parents suspecting their immoral love, sent him away. But one day they ran away to Nuku'alofa to get married. After they came back, the bridegroom and his father visited his wife's parents, taking with them food which had been cooked in an *umu.* Then on the evening of the same day, her mother brought bark cloth and mats to their house for the bridal bed. Now, they are apparently not blamed either by their parents or by the villagers because of the run-away marriage, and her mother was not ashamed to tell me the story. Anyway this remains an exceptional case.

612 *Famili* functions in a field of co-operation and marriage and prohibition. On the other hand a *famili* organisation does not necessarily operate at all since the group for co-operation need not extend beyond the household. A person needing another's help, may ask the members
[571] of his *famili* individually. In short, in the Tongan way, more emphasis is put on the interpersonal, individual relationship than on the group relationship. The next chapters will report the kinship behaviour centring upon the relationship between individuals.

V The Interpersonal Relationship

Kinship Terminology

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114 The terminology of Tongan kinship system has already been precisely described by Gifford, I will touch on some variations from his statement. He wrote about *tamai* that all male and female relatives of the father and in his generation are said to be called fathers.(15) But so far as I could know, this usage of *tamai* is not so extensive today. It includes the father and the father's brothers in classificatory sense, but not female relations of the father. In the same way, I am not certain if *fa'e* includes

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15. Gifford 1929: 28.

the capital to live in a village. The village that was 114
chosen was close enough for me to have easy access to the 121
secondary schools and centers of government and administration in Nuku'alofa, but sufficiently removed that I was forced to learn the Tongan language and was in a much better position to learn *anga faka-Tonga*.

The move to the village in itself necessitated a shift in the focus of my research, from an emphasis on the system of education to consideration of the wider context of the system. Beyond that, however, the more I learned about village life the more firmly I came to the conclusion that, to understand the context of education in Tonga, one
must begin with elements of local organization. The reason 554
is that access to land and other resources are limiting 423
factors in whatever life strategy a person might adopt and 871
may critically affect possibilities of access to education.

In studying the question of access to resources, I found myself moving further and further from my original topic, away from an enquiry into the role of education in contemporary Tonga towards a study of the kinds of alternatives available to ordinary people in Tongan society. Thus my research became focused on the organization of Tongan society at the local level. Enquiry into the role of education in social change would have had to include an investigation of the relationship between education and this is only because there has been considerable migration from these islands. 161 162 166

It would seem, then, that insofar as there has been pressure resulting from increased population, this has been concentrated in the Nuku'alofa area. To that extent, the problems of increased population in Tonga are mainly the problems attendant on rapid urbanization. However, that is not the full story, for the movement to Nuku'alofa is largely related to the landless condition of many of those who have migrated (Walsh 1969). According to the census of 1966, 52% of all adult males (i.e., men aged twenty and over) had no land to their names, whereas two-thirds of the men living in the Nuku'alofa area were landless. Unfortunately, there are no comparable statistics available for 1956, as no question about land ownership was asked in that census. There is no doubt, however, that landlessness is a growing phenomenon, related to rising population. This can be seen , for example, in the figures on land-holding, which shown an inverse relationship between landlessness and and age (see Table 3). 161 368 166 423 162 162 423 [561]

The significance of increasing landlessness stems from the fact that Tonga is largely a country of peasant proprietors, of people engaged in agriculture for household consumption and export who work on land that is under the control of a member of the household. In the census of 1966, 70% of all Tongan men between the ages of twenty and 162 423 241

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

TABLE 3

Agricultural Allotment Holders, by Age, 1966

Age group	Number in the age group	Allotment holders Number	Allotment holders Percentage
16 - 19	3,193	254	8.0
20 - 29	5,778	1,137	19.7
30 - 39	4,308	1,829	42.5
40 - 49	3,072	2,052	66.8
50 - 59	1,813	1,472	81.2
60 - 69	1,091	964	88.4
70 and over	636	564	88.7
Not stated	112	33	29.5
TOTAL	20,003	8,305	41.5

Source: Fiefia 1968: 88.

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sixty were classed as being engaged primarily in agriculture 162
for household consumption and export. This is a figure for 423
the total population, including men who reside in the towns. 241
As Walsh points out in a paper entitled "A Tongan Urban Peasantry?",

> Town dwellers are inescapably bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food (1969: 93). [465]

The figures on external trade (quoted earlier) further 439
indicate the role of agriculture in the Tongan economy: 423
throughout the 1960s, bananas and coconut products made up over 90% of the value of Tonga's exports. Furthermore, there are no grounds for anticipating the development of
non-agricultural exports on any significant scale. In the 315
late 1960s, much hope was based on the possibility that explorations for oil would prove fruitful. This has not yet
materialized, however. And in trying to develop non- 439
agricultural industries, Tonga is in the difficult position of having to compete with Fiji and Western Samoa, both of which enjoy relatively large home markets and are also more advantageously placed to export their goods.

In view of Tonga's dependence on agriculture both for 311
subsistence and export, the rising population figures are 161
cause for concern about increasing pressure on land as an 241
agricultural resource. A figure for 1963 gives the extent [134]

of land suitable for cultivation as amounting to 92,447 311
acres, approximately 60% of the total land area (Great 161
Britain 1965: 21), and it is unlikely that arable land can 241 [134]
be increased significantly. This means that higher yields
of subsistence crops are required from existing acreage if
the extent of land under cash crops is not to be reduced,
and geographers have already documented changing patterns
of land use and cultivation in Tonga (Maude 1970, 1973;
Thaman 1976).

The question arises whether there is a shortage of 423
land. 'Land shortage', however, is not something that can 121
directly and unequivocably be infered from figures on
population density. Rather, it implies a scarcity of land
to meet local needs given the available technology, and
varies with the definition given to 'scarcity' and 'local
needs' as well as being dependent upon practices of land
use and the level of technology. In the case of Tonga,
however, the definitional problem falls away, for there is
a readily available index of land shortage. According to 423
Tongan law, every Tongan male aged sixteen and over is [651]
liable for an annual poll-tax, and every poll-tax payer is
entitled to an allotment of agricultural land measuring
100 fathoms by 100 fathoms (approximately 8¼ acres).
Whether there is sufficient land to provide these allotments [162]
can be taken as a criterion of whether or not there is a
shortage of land, and by this criterion there is a definite

shortage. Thus, McArthur has written: 423 162

> The Tongan government is likely to be in difficulties before 1971 if every male aged 16 years or more pays his tax and claims his 8¼ acres of land because . . . there will not then be enough land in the whole Kingdom for much more than an average of 6¼ acres per [eligible] male (1968: 97).

McArthur's figures refer to Tonga's total land area, not just to the land available for agricultural allotments. In terms of cultivable land, there was only enough for 4.6 acres per eligible male at the time of the census of 1966; the amount of land required exceeded the amount available by 79%.[1] It could be argued that only a man who is an adult and who is engaged in farming needs an agricultural allotment of his own. In that case, given the extent of [134] cultivable land (92,447 acres) and the number of men aged twenty or more enumerated in the census as being engaged primarily in farming for household consumption and export, in 1966 there was only enough land to provide each man with an allotment of just over 8 acres.

The statutory basis of the system of land tenure is 423 set out next. The operation of the system at the local [128] level--particularly the means of gaining access to land--are discussed in later chapters. The point emphasized here [162]

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[1] In fact, according to the census of 1966, only 41.5% of all eligible males had an agricultural allotment (see Table 3). The apparent inconsistency between the figure [565] of 41.5% and the theoretical possibility of 56% is accounted for by the fact that there are landed chiefs who have holdings of considerably more than 8¼ acres.

is that landlessness in Tonga is a growing phenomenon. 423
Scarcity of land is not a recent factor in Tongan society.[2] 162
What is new about the present situation is the phenomenon [161]
of widespread and growing landlessness, and this phenomenon is directly associated with the rising growth of the population.

Historical Background to the System of Land Tenure

Given the facts of land tenure and people's dependence on agriculture, it is clear that the organization of access to and control over land is crucial for any discussion of contemporary social organization in Tonga. Indeed, many features of the system of local organization are incomprehensible without reference to the system of land tenure and some understanding of how that system came into being. As Diaz and Potter stress in their essay on peasant society, "it is impossible to understand the social life of a peasant community without taking state policy and its history into account" (1967: 167). 423

The present system of land tenure in Tonga came into

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[2] Since Tonga is a country of many small islands, it might be expected that land would be relatively scarce in some areas, and hence a valued resource. Even in 1882, when the present system of land tenure was introduced, land was comparatively scarce in Ha'apai and in the western part of Tongatapu (Maude 1971: 111).

existence in 1882, but it is rooted in the system of
political authority, whose history goes back over one 423
thousand years. Knowledge of Tonga's history before the 173
eighteenth century is based primarily on oral tradition,
consisting mainly of a listing of the sacred rulers, the
Tu'i Tonga, and tales about them and their followers
(Wood 1932, Gifford 1929, Collocott 1924). This history,
scanty though it is, depicts the steady accretion of power
and territorial expansion from a center on the main island
of Tongatapu. In the course of events, two positions were
created to accomodate the expansion of the ruler's power.
First, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title was created, around
1450, and the person occupying that title took over many
of the secular responsibilities of the Tu'i Tonga. Later,
with the increase in dominion, the Tu'i Kanokupolu title
was created, early in the seventeenth century.

It was at about this time that Europeans first visited 175
the Tonga Islands, beginning with the Dutch navigators 177
Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, but in the following century
and a half there were only two further visits. Next, in
1773, Captain James Cook visited Tonga in the course of his
second voyage around the world, and from then on Europe and
Tonga were in fairly continual contact. The first Christian [797]
missionaries came to Tonga in 1797, although it was not
until 1826 that a permanent mission was established.

Shortly before the end of the eighteenth century, 175 669 newly-created monarchy. 643

As historians of the period have pointed out (Lātūkefu 671
1974, Rutherford 1971), it must be understood that many 423
of the statutes affecting land tenure are a by-product of 643
legislation variously aimed at curtailing the power of the
chiefs relative to that of the king, averting the threat of
foreign takeover, and raising government revenues.
Beginning with his Vava'u Code of 1839, Tāufa'āhau promul- 671
gated a series of legal codes embodying Christian principles 643
and social reform (Lātūkefu 1974). These moves, however, 648
failed to win from the European Powers any formal recogni-
tion of Tonga's sovereignty. Against the threat of [642]
European takeover, Tāufa'āhau redoubled his efforts to
achieve for Tonga the status of a modern state, and to this
end promulgated the Tongan Constitution (whose centenary
was celebrated in November 1975).

The Constitution has three main sections (Lātūkefu 642
1974). The first section contains a declaration of rights guaranteeing fundamental freedoms and equality before the law, and was the demonstration to the world that Tonga was a civilized and liberal state. The second and third sections of the Constitution deal with the means of effective government. The second section is concerned with the new form of government that was to be set up, including the creation of a constitutionally-limited monarchy, a partly elective Legislative Assembly to replace the previous Assembly of

Chiefs, and the institution of a landed nobility. The 642 third section of the Constitution deals with the operation of the new system of land tenure associated with the newly-created nobility.

The creation of the landed nobility was built in to 642 the radically reorganized system of land tenure (Lātūkefu 423 1974, Rutherford 1971, Maude 1971). The entire country 565 [311] was divided into tracts of land designated for agricultural purposes and tracts designated for residential purposes, bush land (*'uta*) and town land (*kolo*). All town land was [427] to be the property of the government, who would lease land in residential areas to those who wished to dwell there. Bush lands were divided into large parcels of land known as *tofia* ('inherited estate'), most of which were vested in individual nobles. Allotments of agricultural land could [427] be obtained by leasing them from the owner of the *tofia*. The intent of these provisions, as Rutherford explains it, was to create

> . . . a peasantry with secure tenure of portions of land adequate to satisfy their needs and free from chiefly demands and encumbrances, and a nobility with holdings large enough to satisfy their relatively higher demands for status and remuneration (1971:99).

The new system of land tenure was an instrument of [425] security for the state, for it reinforced long-standing [609] prohibitions by Tāufa'āhau against the sale of Tongan land to foreigners. However, the institution of leasehold set [427] aside the principle of life-long security of tenure for

Tongans, which had been an important feature of an earlier 642
code promulgated by Tāufa'āhau. The concept of leases for 423
Tongans may have been introduced to increase the commoner's 565
sense of security of tenure and thereby encourage entrepre- 427
neurship. In practice, it had the opposite effect, for
the noble was under no requirement to agree to the issuance
of a formal lease on land within his tofia, and in fact no
leases of bush land were ever issued under the provisions
for leasing set out in the Constitution. The people
continued to live and work on the land they occupied but,
with the uncertainties and insecurity resulting from the
new laws, they ceased to improve the land.

By 1880 the government was heavily in debt, for 651
there was little income in taxes or other fees to be
collected from the peasantry. Under these circumstances, 423
the Legislative Assembly was inclined to ratify proposals 642
for revision of the land law, for the provisions of the 646
Constitution would have to be amended if economic growth
was to take place. Several alterations were accepted in 423
1881, including the assignment of the government's town 642
lands to the nobles and the elevation of a number of 565
additional chiefs to landed status. These preliminary
revisions favored and strengthened the nobility, inclining
them to accept further revisions that were designed to
ensure the security of the ordinary landholder. When the [646]
Assembly met again in 1882, the revision of the land laws
was completed.

was completed. 000

The steps leading up to the proclamation of the Act 423 of 1882 have been set out here in some detail because this is the Act whose basic provisions have remained in force to this day. The Land Act of 1927 brought up to date the Act of 1882 and subsequent legislation (Nayacakalou 1959). There have since been minor amendments, but none of these have affected the main features of the Act of 1882 (Wylie 1967). These laws provide that every Tongan male aged sixteen and over is entitled to a residential allotment (*'api kolo*) of two-fifths of an acre and an agricultural allotment (*'api 'uta*) of eight and a quarter acres. Once 423 425 an allotment has been granted, the tofia owner may not dispossess an allotment holder under any circumstances. Allotments are vested in the individual allotment holder [428] and are heritable in the male line. Any other form of disposal of an allotment is forbidden.

This, then, is the historical background to the 423 [121] Tongan system of land tenure. My purpose has been to indicate how those provisions of the system of land tenure that affect access to land by ordinary Tongans living in villages came to be the way they are. It must be noted, [565] however, that the system of land tenure--while certainly it has local manifestations--is essentially a societal or national-level system, and is bound up with the new system

of social stratification that appears to be emerging in 423
Tonga (Maude 1971; Marcus 1975b, 1976). The study of this 565
wider system was beyond the scope of my investigation.

Variability Among Villages

The ethnographic data presented in this dissertation 101
were collected mainly among the people of Motulahi, a
village on Tongatapu. It might be asked whether Motulahi 182
is a typical village. However, the notion of a typical 621
village (which is generally of dubious ethnological
validity) has no application to Tonga, for there is
considerable diversity among Tongan villages with respect
to a number of important variables. For example, there
are significant differences between isolated village-islands
on the one hand and villages on the relatively large island
of Tongatapu on the other, or between a village on Tongatapu
less than a mile from Nuku'alofa and another at the far end
of the island. Villages in Tonga also differ considerably [361]
with respect to size of population, from less than one
hundred people to more than one thousand, and the dimension
of village size cuts across the dimension of location.
There are also differences among villages with respect to
ecological setting, demographic pressures, diversity of
income-producing activities, and the number of local
congregations and other community organizations. Other
variables include such factors as whether the village is

361 Motulahi, *'uta* covers an area of about one thousand acres and *kolo* is about one hundred acres. The description that follows refers to the residential sector of the village, unless otherwise noted.

The eastern part of Motulahi has been settled only
[368] during the past twenty-five years. On this side, the
village ends abruptly at the fenced enclosures of two schools, one on each side of the road (see Map 5). In the western part of the village there has been continuous settlement for a number of generations. This part of the village is known as *loto kolo* (the center of the village). Here the houses extend to the boundary with the neighboring village of Kolotau. Houses in Kolotau also come right up to the boundary, and where one village ends and the other begins is not apparent to the casual observer.

361
423
Motulahi was surveyed in the early 1960s and 152
[659] residential allotments were demarcated. All of these
allotments (known as *'api*, short for *'api kolo*, 'town
allotment') were already allocated, and all but twelve were
[659] occupied during the period of my fieldwork. In *loto kolo*
the survey confirmed the boundaries of existing house plots, some of which have been registered with the Department of Lands since the 1920s. These lots are irregularly shaped and most are larger, although a few are smaller, than the statutory size of 1 rood and 24 perches (2/5 of an acre). On the lagoon side of the road, however, all but

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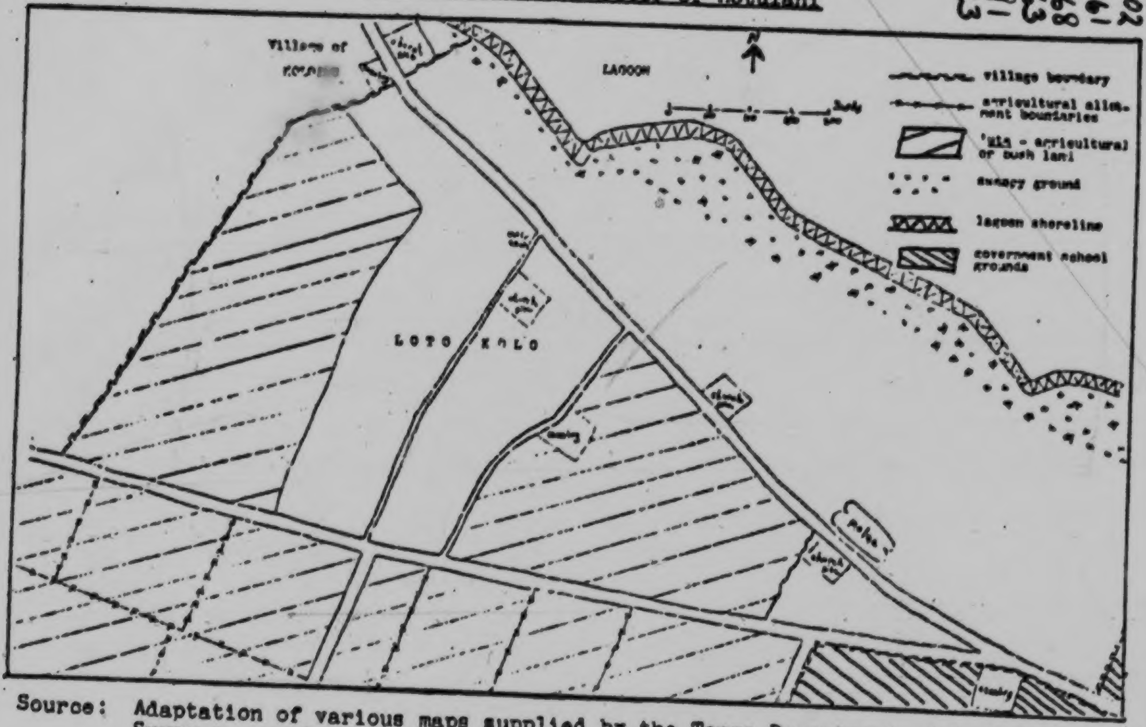
MAP 5. Residential Sector of Motulahi


Village of Kolonga
LAGOON
N
LOTO KOLO
village boundary
agricultural allotment boundaries
'api - agricultural or bush land
swampy ground
lagoon shoreline
government school grounds

Source: Adaptation of various maps supplied by the Tonga Department of Lands and Surveys, supplemented by fieldwork observations.

361 the most westerly lots are of rectangular shape and
423 statutory size.

On either side of loto kolo are two large areas of partly-cultivated bush land, each comprising about 26 acres.
361 Each of these tracts is associated with the title of a
423
565 petty chief; one title is Paluvalevale, the other is
Mafua.[2] The titles originated with the men who were first given the land, about one hundred years ago. Paluvalevale was the son of the noble of Motulahi by one of his lesser wives, and Mafua was one of the noble's ceremonial attendants or matāpule. Today, each title is held by a descendant of the original title-holder. They and their families control the land and use it for their own benefit, collecting coconuts for making copra and using small areas within the tract for the cultivation of root crops.

361 These green tracts in the middle of the village give
423 Motulahi a misleadingly rustic and under-populated appearance. The green vista unfolds as one walks along the curving main road, complementing the coconut palms and trees and other greenery that is dotted about the landscape of the village. The tracts have not been divided into 8¼-acre agricultural allotments since the land is intended for

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[2] Explication of the system of titles is beyond the scope of this dissertation, for the system is essentially a national-level phenomenon. Bott (1972), Coult (1959), Kaeppler (1971), and Marcus (1975b) have usful articles on this topic, and I have written on the subject of the local operation of the Tongan system of titles (Decktor Korn 1976).

361 residential use, but it cannot be allocated for residential
423 purposes because it has not yet been surveyed and divided
into town allotments. A brother of one of the present
title-holders has repeatedly bragged that he would cut up
the man who cuts up his land, and the noble has avoided
the risk of precipitating a crisis by not calling in the
Department of Lands to make its survey. There is beginning
to be a shortage of residential land in Motulahi, however,
and already a number of town allotments are occupied by
more than one household.

351 Town allotments present a decidedly non-uniform
appearance. Besides whatever vegetation there may be on
the *'api*, each household has a number of different-looking
[342] structures. First, there is the main house, comprising
343 living and sleeping quarters. Then there is the *beito*, an
351 open-sided lean-to adjacent to the house or a few feet
[514] away, which serves as a kitchen or cook-house. Somewhat
[515] further away from the main house there is a small enclosure
over a pit-latrine (*fale mālōlō*) and another enclosure,
[513] usually open-roofed, used for bathing (*fale kaukau*). In
some cases, there are other structures as well, providing
additional sleeping space. And there may also be an
enclosure in which small animals such as chickens and pigs
351 are penned. Besides these structures, each *'api* usually
[296] has a line or two of colorful laundry, and during the day
there may be mats and bedding spread out to air. The look

621 Fatu himself came to live in Motulahi, it is clear that
622 for some time before that he took a considerable interest
in the village, actively encouraging the growth of the
621 village population. This was done mainly in the traditional
622 chiefly manner, by alloting relatively desirable portions
423 of land to selected individuals who were thereby enabled
425 to support large households and be assured that their
descendants would have access to land (Decktor Korn 1976).
Among the men recruited by Sione Fatu in this way were a
famous dancer, a promising young teacher, and an able
[565] carpenter. It must be understood that the noble did not go
about openly offering land to men who were not already 'his'
people, for this would entail naked competition among the
nobles. Yet , if a promising man should marry the daughter
of a Motulahi family, for example, land was readily
available to the new son-in-law. More simply, land could
easily be made available to a relative of the noble,
however distant, even if he was not already from Motulahi.
And land was certainly available to those who came seeking
an allotment, if the noble wished to have them on his
estate.

There was considerable migration from the noble's
621
622 island of Tungua in Ha'apai to his village of Motulahi in
166 Tongatapu. This movement, in particular, reflects Sione
Fatu's policies. I was told that in the 'thirties and
'forties he had told his people in Tungua that he had

621 land a-plenty to give out in Tongatapu, whereas the growth
622 of population was rapidly reducing the amount of land that
166 would be available in the future for new allotments in
161 Tungua. And, indeed, today there is a severe shortage of
162 land on Tungua, as there is on other islands in Ha'apai.
According to the census of 1966, the island of Tungua
had a population of 444 with a land area of less than three-
161 quarters of a square mile. The following is a report on
162 the land-holding situation on Tungua in January 1970,
423 written by a social anthropologist who conducted fieldwork
on Tungua in 1969-70:

> There are 90 bush allotments . . . on the island covering an area of some 240½ acres. They range in size from 1¼ to 8¼, only one being this last area . . . The average mean size is 2.6 acres . . . over one half are three acres or less. Preliminary figures on landholding reveal that there are 14 out of 57 (or 24.3%) households without registered land (that is, without legal title to land and therefore no security of tenure); in addition to the 14 heads of household without such title there are 33 sons over 18 in the same situation (Garth Rogers, personal communication).

621 In encouraging his people to move to Tongatapu, Sione
622 Fatu also pointed out that with increasing modernization
166 and especially the drive for education, Tongatapu would
inevitably become the center for development and that people
would be well-advised to move to the main island ahead of
[873] the waves of migration that were bound to occur. Sione
[658] Fatu's foresight regarding national trends is also reflected
[425] in the fact that in the mid-'forties he made available about

621 Seventy-eight of the households in Motulahi in 1970 (54%)
622 had a male and/or female head who had first come to
166 Motulahi in Sione Fatu's time. There were only ten house-
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592 holds in 1970 in which neither the male nor the female
head of the household had lived in Motulahi in the period
that Sione Fatu was the noble (and of these households,
four were established by church ministers or teachers,
appointed to work in Motulahi by outside agencies).

622 Sione Fatu is generally regarded as having been not
only a far-seeing progressive but also benevolent in his
659 policies. A number of people told me of his benevolence
423 with specific reference to the following circumstances:
Motulahi was surveyed in 1961 (part of the first official
Cadastral Survey ever undertaken in Tonga) and allotment
boundaries were defined. Until the survey, not many people
in Tonga had registered their residential and agricultural
622 allotments. Sione Fatu, however, encouraged people to
659 register their allotments as soon as they had been surveyed.
423
[565] This was perceived by the people who told me of it as a
[425] generous concern for their security, for once an allotment
[428] is registered it is beyond the power of the noble to
withdraw it from the allotment-holder or withold it from
[425] his rightful heirs. His encouraging registration is
regarded as doubly generous because, when he had allotted
land in earlier years, he had in many cases given men
considerably more than the statutory agricultural allotment

622 of 8¼ acres. In consequence, there had been land available
423 for these men's sons when they grew up, without the
659 necessity of requesting land from the noble. These allotments
425 were also registered, and thus Sione Fatu was
perceived as a generous noble who gave land freely to those
who needed it.

622 Sione Fatu died in 1962, leaving no children. He was
621 succeeded by his brother, Havea Veikune, who is the present
noble of Motulahi. In contrast to the growth of village
population during the period that Sione Fatu was the noble,
there has been little growth of village population since
162 the succession of Havea Veikune. In the report on the
161 national census of 1956, the population of Motulahi
621 numbered 1,093, compared with 1,122 in the census of 1966
and a total of 1,192 in my census of the village in 1970
(see Table 6). Thus, in the years between 1956 and 1970,
the population of Motulahi increased by less than 10%,
whereas the national population increased by 50% during the
same period. It should also be noted that if birth and
death rates were the same in Motulahi as they were in the
rest of the nation (and there is no reason to believe that
they were significantly different), then for the Motulahi
population figure to have remained fairly constant, there
must have been a net outflow of population from the village.

621 The people of Motulahi account for the standstill in
622 village population figures by contrasting the policies and
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 85]

621 practices of Havea Veikune with those of Sione Patu. The
622 two are contrasted most particularly with reference to
423 their responses to requests for land. For example, people point to the fact that, while Havea Veikune has approved the transmission of allotments through inheritance, which he is required to do, he has not granted a single new agricultural allotment. They speak sharply of the fact that, out of a total of 173 'api 'uta (8¼-acre agricultural allotments) that have been marked out on the estate at Motulahi, there were still at least ten 'api that had not been allocated by 1970 and which remained at the noble's disposal. This land is in addition to the 200 acres at Vaikeli, which is regarded as his 'api faka-tofia, or noble's allotment, not subject to division into 8¼-acre allotments. None of the people of Motulahi with whom I discussed these matters expressed objection to Vaikeli being the noble's 'api faka-tofia, but they spoke bitterly and disparagingly of his holding on to the unallocated 'api. It is believed that he has no intention of making a legal allocation of this land, despite the appeals of landless people living in the village, and this is deeply resented.

621 The apparent contrast between Sione Patu and Havea
622 Veikune is particularly interesting because it reveals some of the local-level adaptations of the system of land tenure under pressure of increasing population. It should be noted, first, that the standstill in the size of the village

621 population cannot be attributed simply to a 'benevolent'
622 noble being succeeded by one who is not so described.
Sione Fatu was the noble until just four years before the census of 1966, and thus the net standstill in the 1956-66 population cannot be attributed solely to Havea Veikune's lack of generosity in dealing with people's requests for land. Furthermore, 30% of the total adult population of Motulahi in 1970 only came to live in the village after Havea Veikune succeeded to the title (and fewer than half of these people married in or were appointed to live in
[425] Motulahi by outside agencies). Finally, while none of the men who first came to Motulahi since Havea Veikune took on the noble title has received an agricultural allotment in Motulahi, the fact is that Sione Fatu granted only four new allotments after 1950 and not everyone who came before then was successful in obtaining land.

In most cases, people who were not successful in
621
622 obtaining land from Sione Fatu must have left the village,
423 since in those days there was more land available elsewhere
425 than there is now. Nevertheless, I know of at least one household of people who have lived in Motulahi for more than twenty years who speak bitterly and resentfully of Sione Fatu not acceeding to their requests for land. When the husband and wife came to Motulahi as a young couple in the early 'forties, they first lived in the household of the wife's younger brother. In 1946 Sione Fatu gave them

621 their present residential allotment, which is where they
622 and their children have been living ever since. However,
423 despite repeated appeals and the customary gifts of pigs
425 and kava, Sione Fatu always deferred fulfillment of the man's request for land, while never making an outright refusal. (These people also told me of another man who had come to live in Motulahi in the 'forties, seeking land, but who left the village after giving many pigs but receiving no land.) There are now two adult sons in the family, but there have been no further requests for land since the boys came of age to be eligible for an allotment, for it is regarded as hopeless to expect land from Havea Veikune if there was none forthcoming from Sione Fatu. Since they first came to Motulahi the family has been sharing the agricultural allotment of the wife's brother, and that allotment of land now supports a total of more than twenty people.

Thus, it is not only Havea Veikune who has withheld the allocation of agricultural allotments. However, almost up to the year of Sione Fatu's death, young men received their allotments from the land that had been allocated to their fathers many years previously. These allotments are regarded as having been granted by Sione Fatu, for the formal approval of the noble was required before the land could be registered in the young man's name, even though in effect that land had not been under the noble's control for

621 many years. Thus, it was not until that generation of
622 young men had already received their allotments, which was
423 after Havea Veikune became the noble, that there has been
425 general awareness in Motulahi of curtailment in the allocation of agricultural land.

However, the fact is that there has been almost no new allocation of agricultural land in Motulahi since about 1950. As I understand this, it is not a matter of miserliness or generosity on the part of one noble titleholder or another, but rather that in the 'thirties and 'forties there had been plenty of land available for allocation in Motulahi and that eventually this was no longer the case. Owing to the policies of Sione Fatu, large numbers of
621 people were attracted to settle in Motulahi. By the early
423 nineteen-fifties the village reached the point of population density and shortage of agricultural land that has been generally characteristic of Ha'apai since about the same time, but which only later began to occur elsewhere in Tongatapu. It is this, I would argue, that accounts for the fact that the population of Motulahi has been at a relative standstill since 1956, while the population at most other places in Tongatapu continued to expand. In other words, what would have been excess population in Motulahi has been absorbed in other areas that have not yet reached Motulahi's point of population density and

621 shortage of land.

423 The conclusion to be drawn from this is that contemporary practices in Motulahi in relation to the organization of access to land may be indicative of what will be seen elsewhere on Tongatapu as the shortage of land becomes more widespread. On the other hand, the Motulahi experience of peaceable adaptation to land shortage does not necessarily indicate what may eventually happen once there is acute land shortage throughout the country and nowhere to drain off the excess population.

The Demography of Motulahi

128 Before proceeding to examination of contemporary
social organization in Motulahi, something should be said
about the demographic characteristics of the population.
Immediately, one confronts the fact of population movement
and the difficulty of making a summary statement of who the
125 people of any village in Tonga are. My demographic survey
of the village was part of a detailed house-to-house
survey conducted intermitently, beginning early in January
1970 and continuing at intervals until about the middle of
125 May. By the end of that period, some of the people who
166 were enumerated earlier in the survey were no longer living
in Motulahi or were still in the village but living in some
other household, while others came to live in Motulahi only
after I had already surveyed the household in which they

592 ment stipend), a household composed of two Mormons
463 serving their period as "missionaries" away from their
home village (supported by members of the local congregation), a lawyer, and a builder.

463 In many cases, the income-producing activities
described above were not full-time occupations; a person
might be engaged in more than one occupation or be engaged
in different occupations at different times of the year.
These elements make it difficult to classify the village
463 population in terms of occupation. This difficulty is
434 compounded by the fact that non-agricultural activities
592 were seldom the major source of household income. In most
of the households in Motulahi, subsistence production and
copra production were the mainstay of the household, while
other income-producing activities served mainly to provide
592 a more or less regular flow of cash. On the other hand,
511
434 households without some source of supplementary cash
[342] income had a noticeably lower standard of living. Among
them, for example, there was a greater proportion of the
old-style coconut-thatch houses and shabby old wooden
houses (probably because households without supplementary
sources of income found it difficult to save the relatively large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or
brick house).

592
423 The major part of the everyday cash requirements and

592 423 other material needs of a household are provided for if the household has access to an agricultural allotment. According to my survey, people resident in Motulahi claimed control over a total of 166 allotments (see Table 15). However, this figure is not meaningful in relation to the question of providing for the everyday needs of Motulahi households. This is because it included both allotments under the effective control of Motulahi residents although they were registered in the names of people who lived elsewhere, and allotments on other islands that were registered in the names of people living in Motulahi but which were not accessible to them and were not under their control for subsistence purposes. Thus, in considering the operation of the system of land tenure at the local level, what is important for household economics is who has effective working control over an allotment. More to the point, therefore, of the 166 allotments, 93 were in Motulahi and 21 were elsewhere on Tongatapu; these could be worked on a regular basis while living in Motulahi. These allotments were controlled by people who lived in 90 households in Motulahi. There remained 55 households that did not have control over an allotment that could be farmed while living in Motulahi, of which 31 households had no allotment at all.

592 423 476 Even if no member of the household has control over an allotment that can be farmed while living in Motulahi,

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TABLE 15

Allotments to Which Access is Controlled by Residents of Motulahi, 1970

Location of the allotments	Number of allotments	Number of Motulahi households in which there is someone with control	Percentage of Motulahi households (N = 145)
Throughout Tonga	166	114	79%
On the island of Tongatapu	114	90	62%
In the village of Motulahi	93	80	55%

Source: fieldwork survey.

592 423 476 someone who has an accessible allotment may permit members of the landless household to have access to his land to grow short-term food crops and to pick coconuts (or, less commonly, to help the allotment owner raise his crops and receive a share of the harvest). In his study of land tenure and social organization in a village on Tongatapu, Nayacakalou makes the following observations regarding the sharing of land:

> Of the 27 households which have no api of their own in the village [out of a total of 106 households], 4 have api in another village, 4 others are using api the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the api of others (1959: 105).

He goes on to make this comment:

> When land is short and a number of families have to go without, they can usually make do by sharing the use of the api of others or by using the api of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the api of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959: 109).

592 423 In Motulahi, both the allotment-holders concerned and the people who were given access to their land assured me that there was no material consideration involved in providing [431] such access (which would be illegal). At most, they said, the allotment owner might be given a few baskets of produce as a gift, but this was not a matter of payment. Other informants, however, asserted that this was not all there was to it in some cases, and told me the details

592 of some transactions. These details have been witheld to
423 preserve the anonymity of the people involved. However,
in his excellent paper on Tongan land tenure, Maude (1971)
discusses some of the practices associated with the sharing
of land, including various forms of payment, and considers
the implications of these practices.

Through arrangements such as the sharing of land,
the subsistence requirements of the household are provided
for in cases where no member of the household has control
over an allotment that can be farmed while living in
Motulahi. Indeed, one might almost say that there must
be some such arrangement if the household is to be viable.
592 At least during the period that I was there, nobody in
432 Motulahi regularly bought the locally-produced staple
vegetables that are available for purchase in Nuku'alofa.
It would be far too expensive for most people to do so.
[554] And besides that, it is regarded as humiliating for a
Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, for it signifies
that no-one holds them in sufficient regard to supply
them with food or to provide them with access to the means
592 of obtaining it for themselves. If the household as a
511 whole does not have some means of access to the use of an
agricultural allotment or if for some other reason members
of the household are not able to farm (reasons such as
age, infirmity, or being too occupied by other activities,

592 such as a job), then the household must be supplied by
511 relatives or have some other arrangement. There were only
[554] two households in Motulahi with varying and uncertain
arrangements for providing for the everyday material needs
of their members, and the adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of the villagers.[9]

Dynamics of Household Composition

592 When a family group does not have access to an
596 allotment, or to the subsistence foods that are the
[511] products of an allotment, it will inevitably join a family
group that does have such access, forming a multiple-family
[423] household. Thus, despite individual registration of
allotments, the organization of land tenure is much less individualistic than a reading of the land law of 1882 would suggest.[10]

[621] Forty-nine multiple-family households were enumerated
by me in 1970--that is, one third of the households in the
592 village. Most of the family groups that comprised these
596 households would not have been economically viable as
511 independent households. In some cases, a member of one

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[9] Further details are witheld to preserve the anonymity of those concerned in these instances.

[10] For further discussion on this point, see Kaude (1971) and Nayacakalou (1959). Also see my paper on the evolution of the system of political authority in Tonga and its relation to the organization of land tenure and kinship at the local level (Decktor Korn 1976).

Summary

128 The account given in this chapter presents a description of processes of household formation in Tonga and the dynamics of fluctuations in household membership. This description provides a frame of analysis that enables us to account for the observed composition of village households and which makes the diversity and changeability of household composition intelligible.

592 The diversity of household composition among the
people of Motulahi reflects the diversity of circumstances
faced by people in Tonga and the range of available adap-
● [423] tations. Among the most pervasive of these circumstances
is the increasing shortage of land, a factor which limits
the range of residential alternatives available to the
121 individual Tongan. It has been my argument that the
592 patterning of household composition in Motulahi is to be
accounted for not as the expression of norms regarding
kinship relations, but as the outcome of different ways
of satisfying the material and social demands upon the
persons who make up each household, particularly when these
demands are considered in relation to the resources avail-
able to the people involved. This is a dynamic process;
as people's needs and resources change, they adjust their
domestic arrangements. The statistical picture at any one
time, therefore, is best understood as the cumulative

612 423 (The extent of the old and new fāmili's involvement in ceremonial activities might be a factor in deciding this, although access to land is probably the most common factor.) 612 124 Thus, the researcher is confronted with confusing data, with nameless unbounded groups and floating memberships. To study fāmili structure, on the one hand, and the range and kinds of local obligations that any one person might involved in, on the other, the investigator must watch who vists whom, and go about at feasts counting pigs and yams, and ask who brought the pigs and who is helping to cook the yams. 612 476 The data are further complicated by the fact that a person is not obliged to make contributions only to his own fāmili. The fact that a person is helping out or has made a contribution of food at the feast of someone who is not a member of his own fāmili does not necessarily signify that that person is in process of switching fāmili affiliation. He may be doing it because he is a friend of the feast-giver or a closely related kinsman or there may be some other reason relating to special circumstances of their relationship. Perhaps the helper wishes to put the feast-giver under obligation to himself, or owes him a favor. [124] No single occasion, therefore, will tell the entire story; instead, the anthropologist (or the interested local observer) must keep track of such behavior over the course of a number of episodes and some period of time.

621 unless one lives near enough to other members of the
612 _fāmili_ to facilitate frequent visiting back and forth.
Such visiting would certainly be possible if members of
a _fāmili_ lived in neighboring villages, but the fact is
that it is not common for _fāmili_ membership to straddle
612 village boundaries. In the first place, the means of
621 acquiring an allotment (or acquiring access to the use of
423
425 someone else's land) make it unlikely that male members of
a sibling descent group would live in neighboring villages
rather than in the same village. If they were living in
neighboring villages rather than the same village this
suggests that there might be strongly divisive elements
in their relationship, in which case they probably would
not belong to the same _fāmili_ even if they lived in the
[593] same village. It is also not common for brothers and
621 sisters to live in neighboring villages. Since the
584 intentions of unmarried men are generally regarded with
571
[589] some suspicion, patterns of courtship do not favor marriage
between men and women of neighboring villages; one either
courts in one's home village, where people are known to
one another and where there are sanctions for proper
behavior, or one conducts one's courtship away from home,
in which case a neighboring village is too close to be
621 attractive. The effect of these elements is that there are
612 relatively few cases in which the wife is a member of a
593
592 sibling descent group based in one village and the husband

642 Except at the most senior levels, government civil servants and other executive officers in Tonga have little power. Therefore, while formal procedures exist for people to deal with various levels of the government hierarchy, intermediate levels of the hierarchy are often by-passed. Instead, the ordinary villager usually functions as a private petitioner vis-a-vis those at high levels of authority in government, for personal representations to these people generally are more effective than trying to work through government channels. The result is a direct and very immediate relationship between villagers and national leaders, despite what may be vast differences between them
642 in rank. Thus, a number of men in Motulahi told me that
423 they had been allocated their agricultural allotments on
425
646 government estates on Tongatapu and 'Eua through having petitioned in person at the house--not the office--of the Premier, accompanied by a *matāpule* ('ceremonial orator')
642 to speak on their behalf. This system of recourse to
178 personal representations is similar to the way in which
[565] high chiefs were traditionally approached. In short, in the words of a man from New Zealand who spent some years in Tonga in the 1960s, working for the Tonga Government, government in Tonga "is western in its legal *form*, Tongan in its benevolent but autocratic *practice*" (Walsh 1967: 121--italics in original).

village had no one engaged in any income-producing activity besides 592
the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. In the remaining 434
households, there were a total of 54 government employees, both men 464
and women, almost all of whom worked in the main town. In addition,
there were persons employed outside government (mainly as laborers in
various enterprises), or by one of the churches (usually as teachers in a
church-run school). Besides people with jobs, there were people in the 592
village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were 434
six stores in the village, two women kept large flocks of chickens and 472
sold the eggs to the big stores in the main town, there were three [444]
privately owned sheds that were hired for movies and dances or used as [235]
copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man [427]
operated a band, a woman had a dress-making shop in town, and so on.
Other income-producing activities of people in the village included the [439]
cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the [244]
manufacture of handicrafts. [463]

In many cases, the income-producing activities described here were 592
not full-time occupations, nor were they the major source of income for 434
the household. In most of the households in the village, subsistence
production and copra production are the mainstay of the household,
while other income-producing activities serve mainly to provide a more
or less steady flow of cash. On the other hand, households with no 592
source of supplementary income enjoy a noticeably lower standard of 434
living. Among these, for example, there is a greater proportion of the 511
old-style, coconut-thatch houses or old and shabby wooden houses—peo- 342
ple without supplemental sources of cash income find it more difficult to
obtain the large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick
house.

The major part of the everyday cash requirements and other 592
material needs of a household are provided for if the household has 423
access to an agricultural allotment (*'api 'uta*). Although this is not the [434]
place to describe the Tongan system of land tenure in any detail,[11] the
following notes will suffice to indicate the major elements involved in a household's having access to an allotment. In theory, every male over the age of 15 is entitled to an agricultural allotment of 8¼ acres registered in his name. In practice, however, about 60% of all who are eligible do *not* have land in their names (largely because of shortages stemming from the pressure of increasing population). Some men, on the other hand, have effective control over more than one allotment,

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[11] For articles dealing with the system of land tenure, see Maude (1972) and Nayacakalou (1959). In addition, refer to Rogers (1969) for a discussion of the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968) that focuses on the findings relating to population increase and its effects on land holding.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 even though only one allotment can be registered in any one person's
423 name.[12]

People in the village of Motulahi claim control over a total of 166 allotments. This figure is not meaningful in relation to the question of providing for the daily material needs of Motulahi households, however, because it includes 52 allotments on other islands which are registered in the names of people living in the village but which are inaccessible for subsistence purposes (see Table 7). More to the point, therefore, there are 114 allotments on the island of Tongatapu that are controlled by people from 62% of the households in the village. In other words, 55 households (38%) have no allotments that can be farmed while living in Motulahi; 31 households (21%) have no allotment anywhere.

TABLE 7

Allotments to Which Access is Controlled by People in Motulahi

Location of Allotments	Number of Allotments	Motulahi Households in Which There Is Someone with Control over an Allotment	
		Number of Households	Percentage of All Motulahi Households (N = 145)
Throughout Tonga	166	114	79
On Tongatapu	114	90	62
In Motulahi	93	80	55

Even if no member of the household has control over an allotment that can be farmed while living in Motulahi, someone who has an accessible allotment may permit members of the landless household to have access to his land to grow short-term food crops and to pick coconuts, thereby providing for the subsistence needs of the household.[13] In fact, one might almost say that there must be such an
432 arrangement if the household is to be viable. Nobody in the village
554 regularly buys the locally produced staple vegetables which are

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[12] Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:18) gives an account of the circumstances under which one man came to have control over four allotments.

[13] In his study of land tenure and social organization in a village on Tonagatapu, Nayacakalou makes the following observations relating to the sharing of land:

> Of the 27 households which have no *'api* of their own in the village [out of a total of 106 households], 4 have *'api* in another village, 4 others are using *'api* the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the *'api* of others (1959:105).

When land is short and a number of families have to go without, they can usually make do by

available for purchase in the main town. In the first place, it would be 592
far too expensive for most people to do so. And besides that, it is 423
regarded as demeaning for a Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, 432
for it signifies that no one holds them in sufficient regard to supply them [554]
with food or to provide them with access to the means of obtaining it for
themselves. If the members of a household do not have some means of
access to the use of an agricultural allotment, or if for other reasons they
are not able to farm (because of, for example, age, infirmity, or being
too occupied with other activities, such as a job), they must either be
supplied by relatives or have some other arrangement (short of buying
their food in town). There were only two households in Motulahi with
varying and uncertain arrangements for providing for the everyday
material needs of household members, and, it should be noted, the
adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of
the villagers.

DETERMINANTS OF HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

When a family group does not have access to an allotment or to the 592
subsistence foods that are the products of an allotment, it will inevitably 596
join a family unit that does have such access, forming a multiple-family [423]
household. In 1970, there were 49 multiple-family households in [511]
Motulahi, or one-third of the households in the village. Most of the
family units that comprised these households would not be economically viable as independent households. In some cases, a member of one [434]
of the family units provided the household with a steady cash income
from a job. That person might not have access in his/her own right to 592
an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family unit in the 596
household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic 423
basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family unit in the 476
household may have control over an allotment, while the other family
unit supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of
the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the
name of someone in the senior generation, and the next generation
provided the labor to work it. It may also be the basis of other types of
household—for example, where a widow has control over her late
husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who

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sharing the use of the *'api* of others or by using the *'api* of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the *'api* of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959:109).

Maude (1972:119-120) also discusses practices relating to the sharing of land. For a systematic account of which persons are likely to provide this form of assistance, see Decktor Korn (1974:10)

1C

592 could help her work the land, the result may be a multiple-family-unit
[592] household based on the sister-sister link between family groups.

[423]
[476] To be male or female head of a household of one's own carries with
[885] it recognition—one might almost say "attainment"—of adult status.
[554] Hence, for both the husband and the wife, being head of their own
household, no matter how humble it might be, is more prestigious and
infinitely preferable to being lesser members in someone else's house-
[162] hold. Thus, 74% of the men in Motulahi aged 30 and older are the
[621] heads of their own households, and 78% of all the men in the village
who are married and living together with their wives are heads of
household (see Table 8). Those men who are not heads of households

TABLE 8

Household Status of Men in the Village, According to Age and Marital Situation

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Household Status and Marital Situation	Age Percentage 20-29 (N = 82)	 Percentage 30-39 (N = 53)	 Percentage 40-49 (N = 54)	 Percentage 50+ (N = 44)	Total Percentage (N = 233)
Head of household					
Member of a married couple	16	49	85	73	50
Not a member of a married couple	1	4	–	11	3
Not head of household					
Member of a married couple	21	19	7	6	14
Not a member of a married couple	62	28	7	11	32
Total percentage	100	100	99	101	99

592 tend to be those who are not married and hence lack the human capital necessary for maintaining a household, and/or are those who have not managed to acquire an agricultural allotment of their own—a reflection of increasing shortage of land over the past two or three decades. The differences among men of different age groups are largely accounted for by these two factors.

554

in Tongan history. The foundation of the *ha‘a* system, therefore, is a 613
geneological charter that establishes claims to high rank based on 565
geneological proximity to the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga.
The system is centred around a type of formal ceremony—the *taumafa* 613
kava or kava-drinking ceremony—whose primary function is to demonstrate 565
the relative rank of the chiefly titles. As Gifford says: "the formal
drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the 276
visualisation of the rank of the participants through the seating and through 574
the order of serving."[16] In giving expression to rank, the ceremony serves 554
to affirm not only the high rank of the participants, but also that of other
persons who are closely associated with the titles.

An assertion of *ha‘a* membership is by its nature also a claim to 613
high rank in Tongan society. It is worth asserting membership, since high 565
rank confers certain privileges. In modern Tonga, these privileges have
relatively little material component for those who are not incumbents of 554
noble titles or their closest relatives, but a person of high rank will always [576]
get a better place at a feast than a person of lower rank, and high rank is
still good for deference in Tongan society.

Ha‘a membership comprises the incumbent titleholders and those male 613
and female descendants of former incumbents who have a claim to 611
geneological seniority. Seniority and membership, however, are not 565
reckoned in the male line only, for affiliation with a *ha‘a* is "optative";[17]
that is, there is choice in affiliation as regards membership, through male
or female. The greater emphasis, however, is on descent in the male line,
especially with regard to succession to a title when, all things being equal,
a titleholder is succeeded by the eldest of his legitimate sons. While 613
membership in a *ha‘a* implies high rank, the personal rank associated with 565
a title is a varying quantity. In Tonga, an individual's rank is based on
that of both his mother and his father; thus, the personal rank of the 554
holder of a particular title is not constant from one generation to the
next.[18] According to one view of marriage among Tongan aristocrats, 613
"increasing the rank of one's descendants was the ultimate goal";[19] 554
a new titleholder might well bring to the title the added prestige of high 565
maternal rank. Among those not heirs to a title, a person whose mother
is of higher rank than his father might have a claim to higher rank in the 557
ha‘a of his mother than in that of his father, and in such a case might [581]
assert his membership in his mother's *ha‘a* rather than his father's. Other 613
persons might completely drop out of the *ha‘a* system because their 565
claim to rank is no longer worth asserting, for persons of relatively low
rank have no place in the system although their kin ties to individuals [554]
of high rank are recognised in other contexts.[20] The point is not only

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16. Gifford 1929:157.
17. Firth 1957.
18. Bott gives a full analysis of the relationship between traditional titles, political power and personal rank.
19. Bott 1972:219.
20. This is a point where the modern situation may be different from the traditional [178]
in that today there is relatively little connection between *ha‘a* affiliation and access
to land, which may not have been the case in earlier times. [423]

TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE & THE COMMON VIEW

612 None of the *famili* in the village where I was based goes back more than six generations to a common ancestor of all the stem members, and this includes at least three living generations. Some of the *famili* consist only of the households of a group of brothers and sisters and their parents (if the old couple are alive and living in the village), a total of no more than four or five households. The largest *famili* in the village goes back five generations to a common ancestor, and includes 4 living generations and more than 20 households, but this *famili* is in process of segmenting, having previously split off a generation ago from another, now entirely separate, *famili* in the village.

It must be understood that membership in a localised sibling descent grouping and membership in a *famili* are not the same thing. An individual could be closely related consanguineally to more than one sibling descent group in his village, or he could be related to one such group and his spouse to another, but the members of any one household probably would 612 not be members of more than one *famili*. The reason is that membership 476 is dependent on frequent and consistent participation in *famili* activities. 431 This includes contributions of material goods and labour on a wide range of feasting occasions—feasts for weddings and funerals, church feasts, 574 welcoming feasts, and so on. Members of the *famili* are expected to make contributions and participate without being asked to do so. In return, they can expect the same kind of assistance when they give feasts or other big public displays. This is an important point of contrast between *famili* and *kainga*, for *kainga* may also function as a circumscriptive resource group. However, while *kainga* members are appropriate people to provide assistance, if they are not also members of one's own *famili* one must go to them and ask for assistance. Doing so puts one in a subordinate position, which is not the case in provision of assistance within the *famili*. Nevertheless, one goes to a member of the *kainga* for things that cannot 423 be provided within the *famili*. This applies particularly to the use of land for a short-term period to grow a cash crop like watermelon. Thus the *kainga* is a residual source of assistance, supplementing the *famili*. Besides 574 assistance, participation in the *famili* and the obligations of membership 431 involve continual informal interaction with other members and member-households: visiting, gossiping, working together in the fields or around the house, like doing laundry together, and sending small gifts of food back and forth. So long as a person continues to fulfil all these obligations, 612 he or she remains a member of the *famili*. From this description it should be clear that it is extremely burdensome materially, and might well be impossible socially, either to maintain these formal and informal obligations with more than one *famili* at a time or to have members of the same 628 household involved in membership in different *famili*. Thus, people who live in different villages will usually not be members of the same *famili*. If they are, it involves a lot of journeying back and forth and seldom occurs except in the case of neighbouring villages or if there is no *famili* within the village with which a household can affiliate itself.

The obverse of the point that an individual does not belong to more than one *famili* is that *famili* tend not to overlap in their active membership,

REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THE 1966 CENSUS

162 Of the 20,766 Tongan males over fifteen, 17,686 or 85.17% were listed 462 as being employed in some "industry". 13,219 or 74.74% of these were recorded as being self-employed in "agricultural production for household consumption and export". This represents a rise over ten years of 3,483 persons or 35.77% in this category, but unfortunately the category includes all those without regular or specific occupation, that is, no attempt was made in the 1966 census to differentiate self-employed from unemployed, nor those with title to land from those who have no title but are growing subsistence crops on someone else's land; it is difficult therefore to quantify pressures on land and the *'api* system.

* * *

421 The Tonga land tenure system is unique in Polynesia and is the result 423 of laws enacted over a hundred years ago by the founder of modern Tonga, 671 King George Tupou I. Every male Tongan is entitled, on reaching the age of sixteen years, to receive a grant of eight and a quarter acres as an *'api tukuhau* 'tax allotment', and a grant of up to one rood twenty-four perches in a village or town as an *'api kolo* 'town allotment'. No one may legally hold more than one tax and one village allotment, but if a person forgoes the latter he may obtain under the law, a bush lot of up to twelve and three-eighths acres, that is, one and a half times the usual [651] size of an *'api tukuhau.* The annual tax on tax and village allotments together is eighty *seniti* (NZ80c); tenure is for life and is usually reallocated [428] to the eldest son.(9) These laws have created a nation of small but secure [592] tenant farmers alongside a landed aristocracy. The head of every family or household in Tonga, irrespective of his rank or wealth, has thus until [511] very recently been assured of the means of production both of basic necessities such as food and housing, and of cash crops both for purchasing clothing, tools, household goods, and for education. With shortage of land, and the strain traditional housing puts on coconut trees, housing is passing from subsistence to the monetary economy.

162 According to the Report of the Lands and Survey Department for 1966 423 (p. 2), the total number of tax allotment holders in December of that year was 12,517. The 1966 census records that only 8,305 or 41.57% of all Tongan males over sixteen said that they were holding tax allotments, whilst 11,553 or 57.84% reported that they held no land (p. 96). Some 116 men over sixteen did not state their position regarding land but even if they all had held tax allotments, 4,096 of the allotment-holders recorded in the Report of the Lands and Survey Department would remain un- [587] accounted for. However, some of the Lands and Survey allotment-holders [428] would undoubtedly be widows holding their husband's allotments as a life interest,(10) or the sole surviving daughters of the deceased land holder.(11) The number of widows recorded in the 1966 census was 1,552 but it is not stated how many of them were holding the lands of their

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301 males), in services 539 (compared with 737 males), professional, technical and related workers 321 (compared with 412 males).

9. TONGA, 1948:405–459. "The Land Act". Annual poll tax, $T3.20, is paid by all adult Tongan males, whether landholders or not.
10. TONGA 1948:427–8.
11. TONGA 1948:428.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

deceased husbands. As the law prohibits any person from holding two 162 or more tax allotments, either a very high proportion (32.78%) of tax 423 allotment holders must be women, or the census returns have not revealed the way land is allotted.

Whatever interpretation is cast on allotment holdings and holders the fact remains that at least one half of all Tongan men over sixteen stated that they held no tax allotment. According to Tongan ideology these men are landless, "*ta'ema'u 'api tukuhau*", even though they may have access to land for food production. As expected the greatest number of "landless" men fell within the lower age-groups but it is remarkable that so many men in the middle age-groups were without tax allotments. 83.5% of all men between fifteen and twenty-nine years of age and 51.7% of those between thirty and forty-four stated that they held no land. One [494] fifth of these "landless" men were living in Nuku'alofa but the greatest majority were in rural areas of Tongatapu where there is public transport to Nuku'alofa. For example, in nearly all of the rural villages of Tongatapu (44 out of a total of 53), more than 50% of the males eligible for land stated that they had no land. In the Ha'apai islands, on the other hand, in only eight out of twenty-two rural villages were there more than 50% of all adult males without tax allotments.

The Census Officer for 1966 wrote that ". . . even if the larger tax-'*apis* are further subdivided into four-acre allotments, there would still be not enough land for all male taxpayers. This simply means that the number of landless males will continue to increase yearly" (p. 31). There are, however, some unhabited high islands (see footnote 3) and an (unpublished) amount of land held by Tongan nobles which is either not made available as tax allotments or is farmed by commoners resident on noble estates who have not been granted registered title to the land.

What then are the prospects for these "landless" males? Firstly, according to the custom of the land they should all have access to land belonging either to a kinsman or to a noble. These rights of usufruct are in most cases for the growing of subsistence crops only and not for cash crops, and the traditional right is becoming a privilege which is paid for. Since it is becoming more difficult for even rural dwellers to do without money, as modern manners create new "necessities", it is likely that "landless" men and their families will not share the same standards of living as those with registered land. It is noteworthy that if the eight-acre allotments were divided in half (as has already happened in parts of the Ha'apai and Tongatapu islands), there would be a corresponding lowering of cash income and consequently of standard of living of the new occupants, as well as the possibility, under current methods of cultivation, of soil exhaustion and erosion.

Secondly, there may be a case in Tonga for the development of co- 000 operative land-holding groups centred on the village, with household units working land within the cooperative. Specialized crop production, mechanization, fertilization, and fencing could all be developed within the cooperative, but each household unit could retain its own '*api* lands for subsistence cropping and household requirements. Such a scheme

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

655 hard-board, cabinet-making, ship's gear and housing), as well as develop-
471 ments in private industries such as cigarette and tobacco processing,
handicrafts, tailoring, boat-building, bread-making, and in government
service industries, communications, electricity and water supplies and
457 mechanical engineering. Until 1956, Tonga maintained a favourable
overseas trade balance without incurring a national debt. Since 1965,
464 moneys have been borrowed from Britain for development plans. But
these developments are not sufficient to employ the increasing numbers
of young men migrating to Nuku'alofa seeking work. For example, in
1956, 2.41% of the Tongan male population over fifteen years was engaged
in "part-manufacturing and processing"; by 1966 this percentage had
risen to 2.78% of the adult Tongan males, an increase of some 192 persons,
but Tongan females employed in this category decreased over the same
period by some 77 persons, that is, in the decade following 1956 the total
number of Tongans employed in "part-manufacturing and processing"
industries rose by only 115 to 597 persons. The "services" branch of the
economy absorbed an increase of 568 Tongans, "transport and com-
munications" 65, whereas Tongans employed in "commerce" dropped
from 786 to 353, a loss of 214 workers. The number of non-agricultural
labourers rose during this period from 192 to 786—a gain of 594 workers.
[563] Comparable figures for non-Tongan residents in Tonga in 1956 and 1966,
show decreases in the number of persons employed in "part-manufacturing
and processing" industries (a decrease of 83 persons), "services" (down
63 persons), "transport and communications" (down 24 persons) and
"commerce" (down 103 persons). These figures conform with the Tonga
Government policy of gradually replacing non-Tongan workers with
Tongans.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

161 Rapid increases in the Tongan component of the population are
162 occurring: about 38% in ten years; this is producing a very youthful
population in which over half of the population is under sixteen years of
[163] age. Population expansion is due not to a rising birth rate (which is
fairly constant at 3.24%) but to a rapidly decreasing death rate (in 1966
[165] the death rate reached an all time low of 0.29%).

423 Pressures on land are beginning to be felt but are not yet acute because
it is comparatively easy for any Tongan to obtain access to land for
subsistence purposes. Pressure on the '*api* system as it now stands is very
great with possibly well over half of the men eligible for land without
311 land or at least without security of tenure. Possibilities for intensification
of land use have scarcely been sought; diversification of crops and scientific
methods are, with the exception of the Coconut Replanting Scheme, as
yet confined to research stations; large tracts of land belonging to the
nobility remain officially unallotted; several high islands are unsettled;
larger allotments could be subdivided with the introduction of intensive
362 methods. Pressure on housing is not yet acute except in Nuku'alofa, but
592 the Tongan administration seems to have adopted a European norm of
one "family unit" to one household in spite of the traditional custom of

building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite 362
sex, parents, and married members of the same family. 592

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the begin- 423
ning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect 464
evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the move- 166
ment of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially 369
to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the 505
acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized 655
sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all
fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far- [651]
sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956;
it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large 655
degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and [242]
allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export
copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government
industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales [457]
are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country 179
using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the
demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at [161]
the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a 000
panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige, but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class 872
reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary 873
schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a [872]
place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the
primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage [874]

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
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'Uiha

643 of his sons, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The first two royal lines lost status as
successive Tu'i Kanokupolu increased their power. Finally, after a period
175 of civil wars during which the Tu'i Tonga and various allied factions of
643 chiefs were defeated in 1852, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, George Tupou I,
united all three island groups of Tonga under his rule. The consolidation
[642 of power under Tupou I coincided with his conversion to the Wesleyan
797 Church and his alliance with foreign missionaries. Tupou I, with the aid
648 of his European Prime Minister, Shirley Baker, a former Wesleyan missi-
] onary, instituted a number of important reforms (see Rutherford, 1971).
The following transformations have occurred in Tonga during and since
the rise of the dynasty of Tupou I:

178 1. Before the nineteenth century, Tonga's population was dispersed on
361 the land of the various islands. Only in the first part of the nineteenth
century did the present pattern of nucleated village settlement emerge,
resulting largely from mission influence and the need for protection
during the civil wars (Maude, 1965, p. 61).

178 2. The reforms of Tupou I culminated in the Constitution of 1875
which transformed the traditional feudal political system of Tonga into
642 a constitutional monarchy on the English model. In contemporary Tonga,
[565] the nobility still occupies most of the positions of authority in both the
co-existing traditional and Western political systems.

178 3. The end of the period of violence and the reforms of Tupou I con-
565 siderably limited the powers and prerogatives of chiefs in the traditional
social system. Formerly, the Tu'i Tonga bestowed chiefly titles and grants
423 of land upon individuals who had extensive powers to dispose of the land
and its inhabitants as they wished. The title of noble was created by the
Constitution of 1875, and Tupou I chose a number of both his prominent
supporters and opponents to hold titles. Noble titles are associated with
legally recognized hereditary estates or *tofi'a*. The remainder of the
former chiefs maintained and passed on their titles, but were reduced to
178 small landholders just as commoners. In modern Tonga, chiefs without
565 *tofi'a* have only ceremonial status and are otherwise indistinguishable
from commoners in terms of class rank. Thus, the reforms of Tupou I
essentially froze the boundaries of the class system, not only limiting the
possibility of an individual becoming titled, but also limiting the preroga-
tives and powers that chiefly titles formerly carried with them. There
were 33 noble titles in Tonga in 1965, but only 29 actual title-holders,
since two men held two titles each and the remaining titles were held

by the Royal Family in the absence of direct heirs (Maude, 1965, p. 56). 178
The power of the nobles within the surviving traditional class structure 565
was limited in that they no longer have legally recognized rights to the
services or goods of their people, nor any judicial functions outside the 178
state legal system, nor any control over the amount of rent and tenure of 565
land, legally registered by commoners who live on their *tofi'a*. Essentially, 423
nobles within the traditional structure have been reduced to landlords
with very limited powers even in this status. However, what makes the 175
role of the noble important in the traditional class system is the fact of
their considerable moral and cultural status on the village level, backed 565
by the very real power that they hold in the parallel political structure
of modern government. The Town Officer of a village, often a com- [624]
moner, still shows considerable respect to his noble, and at least in 'Uiha,
accedes to his wishes. In sum, the traditional class structure of Tonga
survives, but in an attenuated form with sharply defined boundaries
between the Royal Family and the small number of noble titles on one
hand, and the rest of the population including commoners, nominal
chiefs, and *matāpules* on the other.

4. Tupou I instituted a unique individualistic system of land tenure 423
(see Nayacakalou, 1959, pp. 93-114; Maude, 1965, pp. 97-103). Every
Tongan male over sixteen years of age was to receive on application two
pieces of land: a tax allotment *('api tukuhau)* of 8¼ acres and a town
allotment *('api kolo)* on which to build a house. For his tax allotment, [427]
an individual was to pay an annual rent of eight shillings to his noble if
the land was on an hereditary estate, or to the Government, if the land
was on a government estate. Also, by law, the use of land was to be [428]
inherited by the eldest son of the previous deceased holder. This system
of land tenure exists to the present day, and is an important factor in [166]
stimulating the dispersion of Tongan kin groups from their native vill-
ages and islands. The complexities of the operation of this system in the
face of increasing population need not be considered here. Formerly, [565]
nobles had the power to distribute unused land on their *tofi'a*, but since [178]
there is so little land left undistributed in Tonga, this surviving noble
prerogative has lost much of its effect.

What has happened to patterns of rank in the kinship system, the class 178
system, and the descent system in the face of these changes can best be 613
approached by asking what has happened to the *ha'a* in modern Tonga.
As Aoyagi has shown, the concept of *ha'a* as a group in any of its [121]
previous uses has virtually no meaning for commoners on the village

621 of ranked relationships among kinsmen. In the village, economic co-
602 operation is as much a non-kinship as a kinship based matter, and
612 usually, individual families of procreation are self-sufficient in pro-
ductive activities on the land. This contrasts with the importance of
554 traditional patterns of rank in the kin set as a determinant of the form
476 of economic flows in the dispersed family estates.

The nature of economic activities among kinsmen is also an im-
612 portant determinant of the composition of the family estate. A common
602 economic factor in most family estates is the holding of land: one or
423 more *'api tukuhau* will be held or controlled by males in a particular
593 sibling group. At least one brother, usually, but not always the eldest,
will remain in residence in the kin set's native village tending the land
593 which he will eventually inherit. Other brothers will disperse and look
for employment. The importance of particular brothers and sisters in
464 the family estate will depend on the type of employment that they find.
554 Particularly important are siblings who have salaried employment either
[602] in Tonga or abroad. Also important are mother's relatives who have
salaried jobs.

602 The following are the kinds of help or support that one might desire
from a kinsman in his family estate: help in finding an undistributed
612 *'api tukuhau*; financial support for educating oneself or one's child; periodic remittances of cash from money-earning to non-money-earning kinsmen; help in migrating within Tonga or emigrating from Tonga; provision of accommodations away from one's home for indefinite periods of time and for whatever reasons; the provision of modern goods in traditional settings where such goods are scarce (an important example is the replacement of houses built with Tongan materials by houses built with European materials, supplied by kinsmen abroad or near the capital); the provision of food to kinsmen involved in non-agricultural activities; taking care of children in the absence of parents; and support, financial or otherwise, in the case of emergencies or special occasions. The mutual fulfillment of the above needs and desires among kinsmen is the nature of the content of the relationships among dispersed kinsmen in a family estate. These activities, which are of considerable importance to the economic and social development of particular individuals in a modernizing context, are channelled in terms of the hierarchically organized kinship system.

602 Varying configurations in the compositions and contents of specific
612 family estates, then, are largely determined by a combination of kinship
factors, derived from traditional norms of ranking, and economic factors,
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IV. THE TONGAN VILLAGE

Village and family estate domains overlap in that every Tongan community 621 is composed of segments of family estates, which are native to the community, and of segments of family estates, which although native to 612 other communities in Tonga, usually have some *kāinga* tie to a native resident of the community in which they are located. It appears that after the passage of at least three generations since a change in residence, a kin set's identification with a new *fonua* becomes established and accepted by older members of the community, even though the kin set and others in the community may still recognize its connection with a previous *fonua*. Alternatively, there are cases of individuals (in 'Uiha, for example) who recently decided to settle in a community and who were immediately accepted as native members, because their ancestors (usually remembered not more than three generations back) came from the community. Establishing traditional associations with long-standing communities either through long-term residence over generations, or through renewing a former connection is an essential criterion for defining *fonua* membership as opposed to newcomer status in villages.

Associated with *fonua* identification is an individual's identification 621 with a particular noble, who is either the landlord of the *fonua* (as his *tofi'a* or estate) or has historical associations with it. Even Tongans who 565 live away from their native *fonua* recognize a connection with their 571 noble. However, this recognition may have very little practical importance for them, since modern noble-commoner relations are focussed on the landlord-tenant aspect of these relations which has little direct significance for an individual living away from his *fonua*. It is within Tongan villages that interactions manifesting the hierarchical and egalitarian aspects of the traditional class system are most frequent and visible to the observer.

The operations of the class system within Tongan villages will be 128 considered in two dimensions: noble-commoner relations and commoner-commoner relations. Points of discussion will be illuminated by reference to data collected in 'Uiha. A general typology of Tongan communities, 621 based on the form of noble influence, is a useful background to the following discussions: (1) those communities located on the estates of 565 nobles native to and resident in these communities; (2) those located on 423 the estates of nobles native to but non-resident in them; (3) those located on the estates of nobles from other *fonua*, but resident in them; (4) those located on the estates of nobles from other *fonua* and non-resident in

621 them; (5) those located on government estates without a connection to
565 particular nobles as landlords; and (6) large towns, composed of merged
villages, presently independent of particular noble affiliations.

423 Tongans on government estates maintain connections with particular
nobles through historical associations originated before the rise of the
present dynasty and through the presence in residence of a *matāpule* or
[361] a representative of a particular noble. Most contemporary villages are
[646] included within types 2 and 4, since the majority of Tongan nobles spend
most of the year in or near the capital, Nuku'alofa, because of the conveniences
[647] it offers, and in some cases because of government service,
especially as Ministers and Members of Parliament. The village of 'Uiha,
[101] in which most of my data were collected, is included within type 2 above.*

Noble-Commoner Relations

621 The changes in status that are associated with an individual's succession
565 to a noble title reveal much about the nature of class relationships within
Tongan villages. As in inheritance of *'api tukuhau,* succession to a noble title is by primogeniture. In effect, the noble class of Tonga is composed only of the noble title-holders and their families of procreation. Yet, on the village level, class distinctions are highly ritualized and clearly visible only in interactions between the actual person of the title-holder and the rest of the individuals of the community. No special deference behavior is exhibited in interactions between commoners and close kinsmen of the title-holder (including even those kinsmen who technically outrank the title-holder such as his sisters) or between commoners and holders of *matāpule* and *'eiki* titles which confer honor but no special rights or privileges, except in the ritual associated with kava-drinking.

621 The significance of one's genealogical closeness to a noble title-holder
565 is a highly variable matter in modern Tonga as a determinant of personal
554 status. In some cases, one's status as a sibling of a title-holder, or as his
matāpule, counts in determining one's effective rank in the class system;

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621 * I exclude detailed background statistics on 'Uiha since they are not crucial
565 to the presentation of my framework. In 1972, I recorded the following data
423 for the period that I was in residence: there were 703 persons distributed
among 118 household compounds, 10 of which were deserted (their former
101 occupants living abroad or elsewhere in Tonga). According to a general
162 survey of Tongan land in 1962, there were 154 *'api tukuhau,* registered and unregistered, in the estate of 'Uiha. In some cases, two or more plots, considered separate *'api tukuhau,* were held by one person; most plots were less than the maximum-sized *'api tukuhau* of 8¼ acres, and some were even less than 1 acre.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

In 'Uiha, slightly under half of the *'api tukuhau* were unregistered 621
and thus technically held by commoners at the pleasure of the noble. 565
Nevertheless, I recorded no cases of eviction. However, there were cases 423
in which landholders whose lands were both registered and unregistered [427]
consented to 'switching' or redistribution of their lands at the request of
the noble. The noble periodically requests goods from his people, most [425]
often in kind (pigs, yams, or other root crops), occasionally in money
(I heard of one request for $ 100 T).[8] There was occasionally some grum- 621
bling among villagers about the injustice of these offerings, but in effect 565
such requests are made infrequently and are always fulfilled. The noble. 651
through his representatives, maintains an interest in the happenings 621
within his village and sets policies for his people to follow (such as the
decision to fence pigs in or let them run free), whether these accord with 565
policies of government departments or not. Finally, the noble is in fact 621
the largest landholder in the community, reserving for his own use a 565
number of *'api tukuhau.* He has the option of distributing these lands to
people he chooses, either for temporary use or for permanent acquisition, 423
or he can leave his lands idle. [425]

The above sources of *de facto* noble power on the *tofi'a* may vary
considerably from community to community based on such factors as the 621
noble's personality, the economic conditions of his family estate, and the 565
type of relations he has to the people of his *tofi'a*. One might suppose 184
that a noble is in fact most powerful on a *tofi'a* where he is native and resident, and least powerful on one where he is non-native and non-resident. Given the variations that might occur, the above legal limitations and existing sources of traditional prerogatives are the constants which define the content of noble-commoner relations at the village level.

In the case of type 2 villages, e.g., 'Uiha, face-to-face contact between 621
noble and villagers is periodic. In 'Uiha, the noble, who is a Member of
Parliament in Nuku'alofa, visits his estate about three times annually, 565
each visit being one or two weeks in duration. Otherwise, the noble [207]
makes his requests known to his people through radio messages, through
announcements at *fonos*, i.e., mandatory community meetings, or through [623]
his personal representatives.

Whether face-to-face or indirect, the following appears to be the 621
pattern of noble-commoner contact within villages: a noble makes
requests or queries known to his people *as a whole*, either through an 565
intermediary or through the institution of the *fono*. That is, the noble 571
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[8] $1.00 Tongan is equal to approximately $1.25 United States. Values in this paper are expressed in terms of Tongan dollars. [436]

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

476
621 recipients in the transactions among ranked kinsmen of the famil
estate) and (2) the degree of dispersion of segments of family estat
[554] outside the native village (whether a domestic group is the only segmen
[612] in its family estate resident in a village or whether the compon
domestic groups of a family estate are relatively undispersed and con-
centrated in a particular community).

Although the kinds of mutual requests that villagers make are divers
the most common requests in 'Uiha were for permission to use a sectio
of an *'api tukuhau* for the planting of subsistence crops such as yam
and taro, to borrow a dryer to process copra, to use a cart or boa
to transport copra, or to procure cash and food for one's obligatory
offerings to *kāinga* members, family estate members, the noble, or th
476 government. Major economic cooperation and sharing of land occur
621 among segments of family estates resident in the same village. Such
612 co-resident family estate segments also constitute the dominant, identi-
fiable commoner factions in the village.

476 In contrast to these family estate factions of a village, there ar
621 numerous domestic groups, often headed by the eldest brother in a
family estate, which are essentially caretakers of land held by their
612 respective dispersed estates. Cooperation in economic activity and the
665 formation of identifiable factions are weakly developed among care-
423 taker domestic groups. Their interests lie outside the native village, in
the activities of their dispersed kin sets.

A family estate with concentrated segments composed the dominant faction in 'Uiha and the visibly most prosperous commoners in the village. Several caretaker informants grumbled because they had to stay on the land while members of their dispersed kin sets were bettering their economic positions elsewhere. Other caretaker informants, who benefited as recipients of gifts and support from their dispersed kinsmen, seemed relatively content with their positions as landholders in their native village. It appears that the strength of their positions in their respective family estates was a compensation for their relative lack of influence and power within their native village.

621 An adequate description of social relations among commoners in
Tongan villages, then, must integrate a prevailing egalitarian ethic,
571 based on *fonua* identification, with the observed economic variatio
577 among members of a homogeneous social class, based significantly o
565 factors relating to family estate identification. In this analysis, the
612 influence of culturally defined concepts of rank, important in interclass
relations and within the kinship system, has little direct significance
[554]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

adorned with tufts of trees and here and there plantations, make a 133 very beautiful Landskip from whatever point they are viewed. Whilest I was viewing these delightfull spots, I could not help flatering my 137 self with the idea that some future Navigator may from the very same station behould these Medows stocked with Cattle, the English have planted at these islands. Our guides informed us that all or most of 565 the land on this island belonged to the great Lords of Tongatabu and 423 that the Inhabitants were only tenants or rather Vassals to them; indeed it seemed to be the same at all the other isles except Anamocka, where there were some chiefs who seemed to act with some kind of independency.[1] Omai who was a great favourate with Feenough and 129 these people in general, was offered to be made Chief of this island if he would stay amongst them, and it is not clear to me but Omai would have stayed if I had approved of it, but altho I disaproved of it, it was not because I thought he would do better in his own Native Mon. 14 isle. The next Morning I planted a pine apple and sowed the seeds 241 of Millons &ca in the Cheifs Planatation, and had a dish of Turnips to 177 dinner, being the produce of the seeds I left last Voyage.

Tues. 15 The 15th I had fixed upon for Sailing, till Taoofa press'd me to 648 stay a day or two longer to receive his present of yams &ca this and the daily expectation of seeing some of our friends from Tonga- 431 Wed. 16 tabu made me comply. Accordingly the next day I received the Cheifs present consisting of two small heaps of yams and some fruit. On this occasion most of the people of the island had assembled at 648 the place, and as usual gave us not a little trouble to prevent them from pelfering whatever they could lay their hands upon. We were [526] entertained with Cudgeling, Wristling and Boxing Matches, the latter both by Men and Women. And in the evening we were to have had singing and dancing, but an accident either put a total stop to it or at least prevented any of us from staying a shore to see it. This was a party of the Indians knocking down one of my people and striping him of every thing he had on his back. On hearing of this I immediately seized on two Canoes and a large hog and insisted on Taoofa causing the things to be restored and the offenders to be delivered up to me; he seemed much concerned at what had happened and forthwith took the necessary steps to satisfy me. This affair, so alarmed the people that most of them fled, however when they found I took no other measures to revenge the insult they returned.[2] It was not long

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[1] This last clause is rather difficult to follow, unless Cook is referring to the pretensions of Finau—and the argument here seems to be political. The sentence generally seems to overdo the territorial power of the 'great Lords', although some of them had possessions in other islands than Tongatapu. 'Tenants' would certainly be more correct than 'vassals'.

[2] 'The natives here stript Wm Collett ye Captns steward naked except is shoes, as he was [126]

into all the produce of the earth, saw that every man cultivated and 784
planted his quota; ordered what should be eat and what should not.
By this wise regulation, they effectually guard against a famine, in [644]
seeing that a sufficient quan[ti]ty of ground is planted, ordering such
articles for food as are in the greatest plenty, and prohibiting such as
are scarce or not arrived at their full grouth. This is not the only wise 693
regulation in their Goverment they have an officer over the Police,[1] or
some thing like it. Feenough had this office,[2] whose business, we were 693
told was to punish all offenders, whether against the state or indi-
viduals; he was also the generalissimo and commands the Warriors 634
when ever they are called out upon service; but by all accounts this [701]
is very seldom. The King frequently took some pains to inform us of
Feenoughs office, and among other things told us, that if he himself [643]
was a bad man, Feenough would kill him; what I understood from [687]
bad man, was if he did not govern according to law or custom, Fee-
nough would be ordered by the other great men, or the people at
large to put him to death: does not this prove that he is not dispotic?

Considering the number of islands that compose this little state, 669
and the distance some of them are from the Capital; one would think
some of them would be for throwing of the yoke but they till us this 687
never happens; for if there is a troublesome man in any of the
island[s], Feenough, or whoever hold that office, goes and kills him.
By this means they crush a rebellion in its very infancy, for things
cannot be carried on so privately but what they must know it before
it gets to any head.

One reason, may be, why they are not disturbed by domistick 565
quarels, there being so few popular chiefs and these few all live at
Tongatabu.[3] The orders, or Classes amongest the chiefs, or those who [423]
call themselves such, seemed to be almost as numerous as they are
with us, but there are few that are Lords of large territories, the rest
hold their lands under them.[4] I was indeed told that when a man of 428

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[1] 'Police' in the sense of public order.

[2] Delegated, it seems, by the Tu‘i Kanokupolu, in whose realm civil administration would lie. [643]

[3] I do not know what Cook means by this—'popular' chiefs in the sense of chiefs chosen by or appointed from the people there were none. He seems to have got the remark from Anderson. In case of equal claims, when succession to a chiefship was in question, popular preference may have made a difference. Possibly he refers to *matapule*, appointed officials or chiefs' attendants who were not chiefly in rank or family, though they might have titles conferred upon them by the chiefs: the ones he met would almost certainly be at Tongatapu, waiting on the king or the Tu‘i Kanokupolu.

[4] The chiefs collectively were called *hou ‘eiki*. There was a good deal of gradation among them, but *‘eiki* as a description applied to them all, with some suffix to denote rank. There was however a comparatively small number of *ha‘a*, chiefly lineages; the heads of these would correspond to Cook's 'Lords of large territories'. For example, the Tu‘i Lakepa was the head of the Ha‘a Fale Fisi, the 'lineage of the house of Fiji', descended from the chief Tu‘i Lakepa of Vasivasi, Fiji, who married the *Tu‘i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala II about the [613]

mother's generation. This activates a status principle already operative 612
within the *ḳāinga,* in which ego may take what belongs to his mother's 554
brother. 428

The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges 612
among the *ḳāinga* can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods 554
and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while 602
he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives. 437

SOCIETAL RANKING—CLASS

At the level of the society as a whole, there are two kinds of ranking. 554
The first kind of societal ranking is class rank, which differentiates chiefs 565
(*'eiḳi*) from commoners (*tu'a*). This is further refined in two ways. First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart and is known as the *tu'i* (or today, the King). Second, an intermediate class between chiefs and commoners is *matāpule,* who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs. Thus the traditional class structure can be summarized as follows:

Tu'i: King;
'Eiḳi: Chiefs;
Matāpule: Ceremonial attendants;
Tu'a: Commoners.

Membership in one of the three classes (*'eiḳi, matāpule,* and *tu'a*) is ascribed by birth. A *matāpule* may be recruited from the *tu'a,* but the person selected usually has some genealogical tie to a *matāpule.* Marriage between an *'eiḳi* and a *tu'a* does not change the class of either, and their children are
known as *ngesi taha* (one-shelled). Since European contact in the time of [178]
Tupou I (1875), the chiefly division of the society has been further divided
to distinguish legal chiefs (nobles)from traditional chiefs. The nobles are [423]
the land holders and because of this have a great deal of power.[11] The other chiefs have only ceremonial significance and prestige because of their high birth, having descended from younger sons of former chiefs, nobles, and kings, or their daughters. The position of the traditional chiefs parallels the position of women in the *ḳāinga,* in that they have ceremonial status but no real power. What is important in the class system is the "blood" of both father and mother. It is possible, for example, to be a chief in the class system by virtue of genealogical chiefly connections, and to hold a *matāpule* title. The best known example of this is Tuita, who holds a *matāpule* title, but is a chief in the class system because of a series of marriages of the holders of the Tuita title to daughters of high chiefs. Such people are known as *mu'a 'eiḳi* (or simply *mu'a*) to show that they are *matāpule* by title but chiefs in the class system.

SOCIETAL RANKING—*Ha'a* 554

In the second kind of societal ranking, titles are ranked. The titles of 613
chiefs originated by a process of collateral segmentation starting from the 565
first Tu'i Tonga. The *matāpule* titles originated either when the individual

9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and 612
tuonga'ane ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the 554
topics of conversation. [602]

10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the [764]
required role. [574]

11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind 554
of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights.

12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a;* however, they can often 565
trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be [423]
because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership because
"such things are affairs of the chiefs."

13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowledge 000
among most Tongan adults.

14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The [554]
Kauhala'uta lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the Kauhalalalo lived [565]
on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his [613]
people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'ehala, a [616]
chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu [616]
line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i [115]
Tonga line.

15. See Figure 1. [127]

16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of 554
the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e*
of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i 565
Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the 613
Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers dancing 616
did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that [612]
they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the participants'
point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the [535]
formal significance of this dance presentation.

17. The Falefa were the original *mātapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of [173]
their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mātapule* were recruited from the *tu'a*
(commoners) or brought from Samoa.

18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupō, originated by segmentation [173]
from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are included in Falefisi. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and Fale Fisi presented here
differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not consistent.

19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different [643]
ha'a but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is
not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are [644]
not lineages by the usual definition.

20. See Figure 2.

21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a 616
Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states.

22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a 613
mat and resembled one man with three heads. 554

23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word 565
itself means "flesh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata 173
was from Upolu, Samoa.

24. The title Tungi is presently vacant; the last Tungi is now King Tāufa'āhau Tupou
IV.

25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but 613
was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that 554
might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules 565
seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross-cousin 581
marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin 582

649 Tupou IV is Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua through his father, Tu'i Kanokupolu
619 through his mother's father, and Tu'i Tonga through his mother's
582 mother.

565 All other chiefs in the Kingdom trace their relationship to one
649 or more of these three lines and ultimately back to Ahoeitu, the first
[554] Tu'i Tonga. But according to the principles of rank, each knows his
relative status in relation to all the others.

565 An innovation of George I elevated thirty-three of these chiefs
to nobles, or legal chiefs. Each of these nobles and six *matāpule*
565 have hereditary lands which were granted by Tupou I, II, or III,
423 which for the most part reflect the ancient land holdings of the great chiefs. These nobles in turn, parcel out pieces of land of 8 1/4 acres in size, called *api*, to each man over 16 years of age who applies. (This is the ideal situation; in reality, however, many men do not have their own *api*.) Thus, the nobles are subservient to the Tu'i and commoners who hold land from a noble are subservient to him.

565 The societal divisions differentiated by blood and legality, as
535 well as the family ranking system can all be seen to operate in a
541 nation-wide *kātoanga*, 'celebration,' which uses dance. First, it is nobles, that is, legal landed chiefs, who bring their villages to dance for the celebration and thereby show their subservience and allegiance to the Tu'i. Second, the dances represent the great traditional societal divisions and have an internal ordering which reflects the importance of these divisions. And third, the arrangement of the

597 553 557 [565] [581] depending on the rank of the namer). An adoption had to involve changes in rank and changes in residence. *Ohi* transactions, or adoptions in aboriginal Tonga, were transactions between high-ranking individuals. Adoptions and arranged marriages between high ranking individuals played an important part in maintaining the overall stability of the island group.

Titles

597 554 428 [178] What is important to stress for aboriginal Tonga, as opposed to post-1875 Tonga, is the very important fact that *ohi* transactions which involved titles lasted only for one generation. In aboriginal Tonga, when an adoption took place which involved the adoptee receiving a *hingoa*, or "title," from the adopting parent, that adopted-titled-individual could not transmit that title to his own biological (or adopted) child. The title which the adopted child eventually received would have to revert back to someone in the original line of descent in the *ha'a*."

554 613 In aboriginal Tonga, titles were given to important individuals (male and female) of the corporate land holding descent group, or *ha'a*. The title was given as a specific form of recognition for the individual. When the individual Ngata received his title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, he gave his son Leilua the title *Ve'ehala*. Leilua was thus the first *Ve'ehala*, and *Ve'ehala* is roughly [423] [425] translated as the "wrong footed man." With the title *Ve'ehala* there is associated a specific area of land. It is the title of a man which was transmitted to another individual after a title-holder died (or when a title-holder was unable to perform the duties associated with the title).

554 428 When a man could no longer hold a title, the title would not necessarily go to the oldest natural (or adopted) son of the man; the title could be given to a brother of the deceased (or incapacitated) title-holder, the title could be given to a child of the sister of the deceased title-holder, or the title could be [613] given to an adopted son of the deceased title-holder. In aboriginal Tonga, succession to titles depended on several factors, and the decision to pass the title on was a joint decision of the *ha'a*. A prospective title-holder had to be of proper age, had to have the ability to handle the affairs associated with the title, had to have the support of the people to aid him, and had to have the proper rank to accompany the title.

571 565 554 The Wesleyan missionary John Thomas wrote in his journal on one occasion that "there is a union amongst the Tonga people, especially the chiefs, so that they consult each other before they determine anything" (J. Thomas *Journal* entry of February 11, 1826). The titled individual known as the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* had to be supported by the various *ha'a* of Tonga to [643] received the title. Thomas recorded how one individual had given up the "lotu" or Wesleyan religion

> This evening Hohela came today to say that Tooboo had yielded to give 571
> up lotoo and to be made the Tooicanacabola. In a few days time all the 565
> old people are to meet at this part [Hihifo on Tongatapu Island] to 554
> make him. This is a serious event (*Journal* entry of December 1, 1827). 643

As a result of some battles on Tongatapu Island in 1840, the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou (the "Tooboo" that Thomas mentions above) and King George Tupou (who was made *Tu'i Kanokupolu* in 1845) had a meeting and removed the title of *Ata* from one individual. As Thomas recorded it:

> After this the two Kings met with their chiefs and did depose Ata and another chief called [by the title] Vahai (the latter has been the cause of the wars) and appointed a new Ata and Vahai in their place (J. Thomas *Journal* entry of February 14, 1840).

The titled individual *Ata* had land on Tongatapu Island and this was also [423]
removed from him and transferred to the new *Ata*. As Rabone reported it: [425]

> This morning the Kings Josiah & George returned from Hihifo [on Tongatapu] with all their people and the trophies of their victory. We were at the sea side when K. G. arrived and were truly grateful to God who had graciously preserved his servant and all his people so that not one has falled in the war, or even wounded. We gave God the glory and we pray we may ever be thankful unto him. Ata, that was, with many of the rebellious ones are brought here intending to send them to Haabai. They appear truly humbled for their sin & rebellion. We hear the Heathen [or non-Wesleyan Tongans] are all dumbfounded and astonished – may they hear & fear & turn to God (S. Rabone *Journal* entry of February 28, 1840).

Consensus and flexibility were extremely important aspects of aborigi- 571
nal Tongan life. Cross wrote how the 565

> Monarch is only a superior Chief, and is absolute no longer than he is 643
> supported by others, many of whom have nearly as much power as himself, and in some instances more (In Hunt 1846:30).

One non-missionary of 1850 wrote:

> The government of the islands is despotic, and not hereditary in the
> royal family. The eldest son of the king does not necessarily succeed his [428]
> father, but another may be chosen from the sons of a former king, or a younger son may be elected before an elder IF HE BE THOUGHT TO HAVE MORE CAPACITY FOR GOVERNMENT [stress added] (Brierly 1852:98).

The titled individual known as the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* needed the support of the various chiefs to maintain the title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and Cross reported the following for Jiosaia Tupou (installed as *Tu'i Kanokupolu* in 1827 as reported by the Thomas *Journal* entry for December 1, 1827):

> A report is in circulation that the chiefs who are opposed to Christianity are determined to depose our chief [Jiosaia] Tubou and TO CHOOSE ONE FROM AMONG THEMSELVES IN HIS PLACE. It

his (or her) adopted parents (although the child could certainly inherit from 597
his own biological parents). As recently as 1961 the Chief Justice of Tonga 642
stated: 428

> no person who is an adopted child and has not been born in wedlock to [565]
> the person from whom he claims to inherit, is now entitled to inherit under the law of succession in any event. (Hammet *in* Hunter 1963:182).

The Chief Justice also pointed out in the same context:

> From the date the Constitution was granted in 1875 until the present time no adopted child has been entitled to inherit under the law of succession and no provision has been made whereby an adopted child may succeed in the future. (*ibid.*).

The 1953 Amendment to the Tongan Constitution changed the Constitu- [565]
tion for the high ranking Tongans, but for the bulk of the populace in the
twentieth century inheritance rules are guided not by custom but by law. For [425]
the Tongan farmer, inheritance of land (in a land-scarce archipelago) is [423]
extremely important; and as A. Maude's most recent work on land in Tonga states it, "only legitimate sons may inherit" land, and "these rules of inheritance do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly" (A. Maude 1971:113).

It is clear that twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga. The 178
"Europeanization" of Tonga removed much of the inherent consensus and 177
flexibility from Tongan society, and researchers and Tongans alike must be 121
made aware of this.

NOTES

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and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Assistance and information provided by individuals in Tonga, especially those connected with the *Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga*, "Tongan Traditions Committee", is greatly appreciated. Space limitations obviously precludes the listing of all individuals from whom assistance was gratefully received, but see the completed dissertation (1972:v-x). An earlier version of this paper was discussed at a symposium on "Adoption and Fosterage in Oceania" at the First Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, March 29-April 1, 1972. Numerous people have commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, are responsible for what I present.
2. C. Maxwell Churchward has defined *tauhi* as "to tend, look after, take care of" 597
(C.M. Churchward 1959:463). One of the earliest definitions of the term was 855
recorded by the Wesleyan missionary S. Rabone who defined *tauhi* as "a nurse; a

rural characteristics

To the air passenger wheeling over Nuku'alofa on the descent 361
to Fua'amotu airport some ten miles distant, there would be no doubt
that the town presents a rural appearance. It would be difficult for 369
him to remember, even if he knew, that below was a town of some 18,000
people with an average population density in excess of the Suva urban
area which he had left some three hours earlier. He would see the
iron roofed buildings of the administrative and commercial core, but
beyond this would recognise no functional specialisation. Many of
the houses, small and thatch roofed, would be hidden among the trees.
More visible would be the white coral sand of the graveyards, marking
the earlier boundaries of the town's component villages. Closer
inspection would confirm the observation by Spillius that 98 per cent
of the population live in rural conditions.[14] There is no sewerage, [364]
reticulated water serves only key government areas and over half the
population live in houses made at least in part of indigenous [365]
materials, often of traditional design. Towards the margins of the [362]
town the number of thatch and composite houses increases, as also does
the percentage of migrants squatting on unconfirmed titles to land,
and the involvement of agriculture. The town's boundaries, like its
position in the rural-urban continuum, taper off slowly and only a
broad transition area is distinguishable.

Land in Tonga is occupied on titles that trace their origin to 423
the feudal days of the primitive nobility[15] *and* to early attempts by 177
the first modern king and his missionary advisors to modify tradition
to more closely resemble the system of tenure acceptable in Victorian 178
England.[16] This blending of traditional and introduced, Tongan and
Western, permeates almost every facet of Tongan life. It was 643
consciously and deliberately introduced by a far-sighted monarch in an
attempt to consolidate his position within a traditional framework and
it served its function of perpetuating traditional content within a
modified and apparently modern or western form.[17] Thus, all land 423
belongs to the Crown and through it to the nobles and government in
the form of hereditary estates or *tofi'a*. These *tofi'a* are subsequently
divided into *'api kolo* or town allotments and *'api tukuhau* or
country allotments and all male tax payers are legally entitled to a
town and country allotment, although this right cannot always be exercised.
The occupier has only a life interest though it is usually [428]
inherited according to stipulated laws of succession which favour the
eldest son and the widow. The town dweller in this respect is in no [369]
way different from the country dweller. He is attached to the land
and the ownership and direction of this land is of family concern.
Its social significance is at least equal to its economic significance.
Thus, although some two-thirds of the town's household heads were
without registered *'api tukuhau* in 1963, only one-fifth had no access

423 to the use of land. For every two householders with *'api tukuhau*
there was a further householder who was sharing land with a relation.
The situation with regards to *'api kolo* demonstrated the social significance of land still further—a third of the householders were
sharing the *'api* of relations.

369 Just as no village family could rely entirely on subsistence
[434] agriculture, few families in the town could rely entirely on wages.
The town's economy, like the traditional peasant economy outlined by
[433] Franklin,[18] is labour and not capital intensive, kin relations serve a
socio-economic role and there is a close attachment to the land. It
592 would be erroneous to talk of *per capita* income in Tonga; the
[434] important consideration is family income. Although not entirely controlled by the head of the household as *chef d'entreprise*, the broad
direction of spendings earned by members of a family is the concern of
all the family, especially so in times of crisis or investment in
[594] education. And the families, though nuclear by residence, are
[595] extended in terms of mutual recognition of services and obligations.[19]

183 It would not be *fakatonga*, the right behaviour in terms of
602 respect within Tongan society, to deny a relation access to land,
369 residence, employment or a share in family success. If these are
characteristics of a peasantry, one can only say that they are common
to all of Tonga, rural and urban. Town dwellers are inescapably
369 bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely
434 on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional
423 income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family
obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they
depend on it for food. There would be few established household
heads, even the most wealthy and the most "urbanised", who do not have
a son or relation on their land or on land acquired through their
592 influence. It is the function of a successful household head to find
employment for as many of his family as possible. The labour commitment is total and the basic unit of economic organisation is the
family, controlled and directed at least to some extent by the
592 household head.[20] A typical family would endeavour to have some
434 member in paid employment, some on the land and some in the "bazaar"
sector of the town's economy—a small grocery shop, in the making of
[182] handicrafts and other side-line businesses. This diversity in family
employment provides material security in an economy which offers
insufficient full wage employment; it also indicates the economic
obligations borne by the *chef d'entreprise* towards his kin.

556 It should be clear that everyone in Tonga is to some extent
437 involved in a money economy, the town dweller somewhat more than the
[369] villager but this has not yet led to any noticeable individualisation.
[465] There is little evidence of individuals trying to opt out of reciprocal

369 and during the same period over 11,000 will join the labour force.
464 Young people at school are already asking for what am I being edu-
674 cated? It is hard to give a truthful answer. Thousands of young
people live in and around Nuku'alofa. Many of these young people
have left both schools and home. They have exchanged a life of
the home and school for a life of the youth group and gang. They
live off the land, raiding _'apis_, breaking into many homes for
food, clothing and money."21

369 Other pressures have resulted in diminished respect towards nobles, less formal modes of courtship and changes in dress and diet. But none of these are clear cut urban-rural differences and most of them affect only sections of the population. What is most significant about Nuku'alofa is not that there are differences compared with the countryside, but that these differences are so few. Whether this is because the town is so little urbanised or whether this represents a successful readaption of cherished Tongan values is not yet clear. What is clear is that basic Tongan attitudes and patterns of life remain very little changed in the town context.

the rural migrants

166 No small part of the unlawfulness referred to above can be traced to the large influx of migrants from Tonga's other islands and from the rural villages of Tongatapu (see Fig. 1). This migration is not new but there are very definite signs that, whereas the movement was once primarily towards rural Tongatapu where land was available, movement in the last ten years can more accurately be termed an "urban drift" to Nuku'alofa. The general causes of such movements are well known and need not concern us here. One aspect, however, is of special importance: many of Nuku'alofa's in-migrants are not visiting the town for the first time. Some four-fifths of those interviewed and who were in paid employment in Nuku'alofa had been to secondary schools in Tongatapu. The proportion is not likely to be as high for those not in paid employment but it is certain to remain significant.

591 If the migrant is arriving in Nuku'alofa or returning after
592 attending school, he usually gravitates to his relations and frequent-
ly he has neither money, land nor employment. He lives with them
591 until he builds a separate home which may well be on their _'api_. It
592 is their _'api tukuhau_ that he uses (see Table III) and it is usually
423 through them that he enquires about the use of another _'api_ or the
registration of one of his own though, if he is single, he may wait
until he marries. If he marries into a local family his chances of
[582] acquiring an _'api_ are considerably enhanced. Some two-thirds of
those interviewed in Nuku'alofa had married into local families and

half of these were sharing _'api tukuhau_ with their in-laws. 591 592

The migrant appears welcome to stay in the local household as [423] [582]
long as he wishes and it is not unusual for him to do so for several
years. There is rarely any question of payment for board or for the [427]
use of _'api kolo_ or _'api tukuhau_ though by mutual, unspoken understanding the migrant will supply a share of the food or contribute in
other ways towards family expenses. Even when it is possible to live
elsewhere and so avoid kin obligations, few choose to do so.

Table III 423

The Migrant and Access to Land, 1963-4

	Migrants[a] %	Total Household Questionnaire %
Registered 'Api Kolo	38	57
Registered 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	18	49
Registered 'Api Tukuhau elsewhere[b]	13	6
Sharing 'Api Tukuhau	42	25
No use of 'Api Tukuhau	27	20
No use of 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	40	31
Number in Sample	74	107

[a] Based on Employment and Household Questionnaires.

[b] Application for an _'api_ in Tongatapu requires a previous cancellation of titles elsewhere.

The hierarchy of Tongan family relations is such that a young 602
relative tends to feel more relaxed with close relations on his
mother's side (_fa'e tangata_). These relations are under some obligation to him whereas he is obligated to his father's eldest sister [604]
(_mehekitanga_) and to a lesser extent to all his father's relations.
It is natural, then, that a migrant will endeavour to stay with his [591]
mother's people. As one informant put it, "You feel closer to your
mother's side because you are above them."

It is significant that few migrants considered they had any 154
special problems of adjustment on arrival. The strength and
importance of kin ties in this pattern of chain migration is best seen 602
in the migrants' own comments: 166

> "I had relations here. The burden was easier."
> "I had no problems because my elder brother was here."

128 pressure. As the term is used here, 'population pressure' implies the
[121] existence of stress in the man/land system resulting from increases in
population density, stress being indicated by a deterioration in some
of the variables in the system, such as a decline in the nutrient status
of the soil or an increase in land disputes (Farmer, 1954; Lea, 1964,
1965; Street, 1969; Vermeer 1970). The following sections therefore
examine three aspects of the man/land system—land tenure, the
agricultural system, and the human perception of and reponse to
population pressure—to see if there are any indications of stress.
Analysis of the effect of population density is mostly through a
comparison of areas of different density, chosen so that other independent variables are reasonably constant. For example, study of
the effect of population density on the food cropping system is
confined to Tongatapu and Ha'apai, for within these two groups
climatic and soil conditions are broadly similar, but are different to
those in Vava'u.

LAND TENURE

423 The land-tenure system of Tonga is highly distinctive, differing in a
171 number of respects from the systems found in other parts of the
Pacific Islands. Every taxpayer (every male aged 16 years and over)
423 is entitled by law to an allotment of 3·2ha of agricultural land,
known as a tax allotment, as well as a small piece of land in a village
423 or town for his house. These allotments are granted to individuals
as a lifetime, inheritable leasehold from the Government, if on a
427 Government estate, or from the title-holder on a chiefly estate, and
no one may legally hold more than one allotment of each type.

423 In reality, however, many Tongan men do not have the allotment
to which they are entitled. In the 1966 Census only 8,305 or 41·6
423 per cent of all Tongan males aged 16 and over stated that they had
162 a tax allotment. Although this figure conflicts with the 1966 Report
127 of the Lands and Survey Department, which recorded the total
number of tax allotment holders in December 1966 as 12,517
(G. Rogers, 1969, 216), this latter figure is almost certainly incorrect.
423 A more detailed impression of landholding is given in Table 7.2,
128 which presents the results of a number of village studies. The table
shows that in only one village, Niutoua, did over half the taxpayers
have their legal entitlement, while in most villages a large proportion
592 of taxpayers and households had no land at all. It should be noted

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

Table 7.2 Land distribution: some village surveys, Tonga (*Sources:* Ha'afeva, Ha'avakatolo, Ha'akame and Niutoua, field survey by writer; 'Uiha, Koch (1955), 120—1); Nukunuku, field survey by R. G. Crocombe; Ha'ateiho, Nayacakalou (1959, 104). The figures for Ha'afeva and Niutoua are based on sample surveys.) 423 592

			Percentage distribution of households and taxpayers by area of land held (ha)					
Village	*Persons/ km²*		0 %	0·5–1·4 %	1·5–2·6 %	2·7–3·8 %	3·9–6·2 %	6·3 *and over* %
Ha'afeva	264	H	43	10	28	12	7	—
1966		T	61	8	29	2	—	—
'Uiha	186	H	9	10	41	24	13	3
1952								
Ha'avakatolo	178	H	18	9	9	27	16	21
1962		T	45	4	9	22	11	9
Ha'akame	150	H	31	—	2	49	4	14
1962		T	55	—	1	37	4	3
Nukunuku	133	H	30	—	1	51	3	
1960		T	51	—	1	44	1	3
Ha'ateiho	110	H	25	—	—	58	—	17
1957								15
Nioutoua	70	H	3	—	—	66	—	31
1962		T	18	—	—	82	—	—

H = percentage of households.
T = percentage of taxpayers.

that a household in Tonga now generally consists of a nuclear family or a nuclear family plus unmarried relatives of the husband or wife, and practically every household has at least one taxpayer, some of them having two or more. 592

One major reason for this discrepancy between the law and reality in the holding of land is the simple fact that there are now more taxpayers than allotments. The total number of allotments so far marked out is about 12,140, but in 1962,* when four of the village surveys were carried out, there were already about 18,400 taxpayers, 423 161 162

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* Based on a count of allotments on the maps of the Lands and Survey Department, with every two blocks of less than 1·6 ha being combined to form one holding, as has been the practice in Ha'apai where many men have their holding split into two sections on different soil types. [27]

423 and the 1966 Census enumerated 20,003 males aged 16 and over.
161 A second reason is the uneven distribution of population discussed
in the previous section. In areas where population densities are about
162 180/km² and over (i.e. 0·56ha or less, per person, of all land), most
holdings have for many years been less than 3ha; when cadastral
surveys were first carried out in these areas the population density
was already such that holdings were generally about 1 to 2·5ha, and
any attempt to stick to the statutory size of allotments would have
423 led to the dispossession of many landholders. Despite the small size
of the holdings there are still many more men entitled to land than
there are allotments, and the typical pattern of land distribution in
these areas is shown in the figures for Ha'afeva and 'Uiha (Ha'apai)
and Ha'avakatolo (Tongatapu) in Table 7.2. In Ha'afeva the high
level of landlessness is partly a result of the fact that nearly half the
persons who held land on the island in 1966 lived elsewhere in
Tonga, and this phenomenon of a large number of absentee land-
holders is common to many islands in Ha'apai. In areas of moderate
population density (around 100 to 150/km²) the pattern of land
distribution is as shown in the date for Ha'akame, Nukunuku and
Ha'ateiho in central Tongatapu. On these estates almost all allot-
ments are of 3·2ha and consequently a larger proportion of taxpayers
and households are generally without land than is the case in villages
with higher population densities. Where population density falls to
about 80/km² or less the pattern of land distribution is represented
by the figures for Niutoua in eastern Tongatapu, where in 1962 only
3 per cent of the households had no land. Landlessness on this
Government estate would have been even less had it not been for
the fact that one-third of the registered allotments on the estate were
held by people who lived in other settlements, mostly either in
nearby villages or in Nuku'alofa, a not uncommon feature of
Government estates in eastern Tongatapu.

These data on the percentage of households are by themselves of
only limited value in an assessment of population pressure. The fact
that a man does not hold land, or has only a small allotment, does
not necessarily mean that he does not have satisfactory access to
423 land for food production and cash cropping. The borrowing of land
427 from relatives, friends, villagers and estate-holders is common
throughout Tonga, and has its basis in the customary, although now
178 weakened, obligations that exist between kinsmen, friends and a
[241] chief and his people. It is fairly easy to borrow land for growing

423 short-term subsistence crops, even in densely populated areas, and
427 although many villagers claim that it has become more difficult in
[178] recent years it is hard, if not impossible, to find a rural family short of
food simply because they cannot borrow enough land for gardening.
[241] When land is borrowed from a relative no direct payment is usually
made, but in borrowing from others it is customary to give a small
[687] part of the crop to the landholder. Although it is illegal, there appear
[178]

592 **Table 7.3** **Cash-crop income and area of land held by household, Tongatapu, 1961**
511
423

	Land held by household		
	No land	*1 allotment (2·7–3·8 ha)*	*2 allotments (6·3–7·4 ha)*
Number of households	31	59	17
Mean cash-crop income ($A)			
per capita	18·4	36·4	36·4
per adult male (aged 16 and over)	69·8	157·6	152·8

423
427
687 to be a growing number of cases in which a cash payment is made
178 for the use of land.

Obtaining the use of land for cash cropping is more difficult. The
423 demand for such land has increased with the growth of the population
178 and the greater commercialization of Tongan agriculture, while
241 in Tongatapu, where the demand is greatest, the amount of spare land has decreased markedly in the last decade as a result of the allocation of allotments in the eastern half of the island, and an increase in banana planting by landholders in response to the improved market in New Zealand. Furthermore, the customary obligation to assist relatives and others, evolved in a society with a subsistence economy, applies less strongly to the rather different
423 conditions of commercial agriculture. Men borrowing land are
increasingly having to pay a cash rental. While some of the large-scale
427 banana growers, and market gardeners who can afford to pay
241 such rents and to contribute food crops and pigs to the landholder
178 or estate-holder, still have little difficulty, the ordinary landless

423
427 villager finds land borrowing for cash production an increasing
178 problem. Land cannot be borrowed for planting coconuts, which
241 rank about equal with bananas as a cash crop, and palms on an
allotment are the property of the landholder, regardless of who
423 planted them. A common practice for those without land is to obtain
245 permission to collect one or two cartloads of coconuts for copra-
427 making from the allotment of a relative or close friend, and for this
no return is given. Another arrangement found, especially between
non-relatives and where the landholder is absent, is for the cash
received for the copra to be shared half-and-half.

423 The effect of landholding on cash-crop incomes is shown in
511 Table 7.3, which presents data from the household survey of four
592 Tongatapu villages mentioned in an earlier section. The inability of
the social system and its customary obligations to even out inequalities in landholding is shown in the fact that households without land had only half the income per capita or per adult male of households with a full-sized allotment. On the other hand households with two allotments did not have higher incomes per head than single-allotment households, for although total income was higher these households were larger and had more adult males.*

423 The main conclusion that can be drawn from this discussion is
182 that the present land-tenure system, although it cannot provide land
178 for every household, is still able to cope with the subsistence needs
241 of the people, but is less able to cope with the rising demand for land
for cash cropping. The increasing difficulty of borrowing land for growing cash crops and the trend towards the payment of rentals for land both point to pressure within the system. This pressure, however, is as much the result of the growing commercialization of Tongan agriculture as of population increase alone.

THE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

241 Tongan agriculture is based on a bush fallowing system† for the cultivation of tubers, the main food crops being yams, taro, cassava, sweet potato, bananas and plantains. After clearing and burning, a plot is cropped for two to about five years and then bush fallowed for

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[128] * The number of households in the survey with allotments smaller than 2·7 ha was too few for useful analysis.

† The term 'bush fallowing' is here used to describe a form of shifting cultivation in which the fallow period is short.

433 The above evidence points tentatively to mild symptoms of
182 economic stress in areas of high population density. Land appears to
have become a limiting factor in production given the present level
of agricultural technology, but at population densities which vary
according to the crop; the population density at which *per capita*
banana production begins to decline, for instance, is higher than
that at which *per capita* copra production is affected, because bananas
[128] are a less land-extensive crop. Much more research, including
studies of nutrition, is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

POPULATION PRESSURE: PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE

121 To what extent are the pressures described in the last two sections
consciously felt by Tongans living in areas of high population
121 density? An attempt was made during field-work in western
Tongatapu, Ha'apai and eastern Vava'u to ascertain the degree to
124 which people felt hardship as a result of the shortage of land,
concentrating in particular on married men without allotments as
182 these were likely to suffer the most. We recall that even in densely-
settled areas most men without allotments found it fairly easy to
511 borrow land for cash cropping or collecting coconuts for copra-
making. Yet only a small proportion of the men interviewed seemed
to feel any hardship, all of these being men with large families to
support, and most considered their income sufficient for their
[124] essential needs. About 30 men were asked what they would do with
$A 1,000 if it were given to them; only one replied that he would
spend it on food and other necessities, the rest stating housing or
education for their children.

121 However, the degree to which population pressure is felt is better
determined by what men do than by what they say. There are a
182 number of possible reactions to population pressure, but only one of
166 these, migration, is really significant in Tonga. In land tenure, for
182 instance, there has as yet been no trend towards subdivision of
allotments, even though this is not prohibited should the legal heir
423 to the land be willing, and land disputes are rare. The only response
by those in control of land matters, the Government and the chiefs,
to the problems brought by population growth has been a belated
182 effort to complete the survey and allocation of allotments. In agri-
241 culture there has been a steady intensification of the system and a

121 Firstly, under conditions of rapid population growth the rate at
182 which the intensity of cropping increases may well be higher than
241 the rate at which farmers are able to change their traditional
methods and their accustomed habits of work. The examples drawn
[171] on by Boserup to support her thesis are of populations undergoing
slower rates of growth than have been recently experienced in Tonga,
or in many of the developing countries, and this somewhat reduces
the value of her thesis under contemporary conditions. However,
observation and questioning in Tonga do not suggest the rate of
population growth to be a major reason for the failure to adopt new
methods of soil fertility maintenance. Secondly, failure is possible
where farmers have no knowledge of the techniques which could be
121 adopted. In Tonga the only new technique known to farmers is the
182 use of chemical fertilizers, which because of their cost have so far
241 been used only with cash crops, whereas many African and Asian
shifting cultivators have had a knowledge of other methods or
171 contact with peoples practising more advanced systems of traditional
agriculture.*

121 A third possible situation in which population pressure may fail
182 to produce corresponding technological advances in agriculture is
241 where institutional problems reduce the farmer's incentive, or ability,
[171] to undertake improvements. Boserup, for example, in a discussion
of investment under landlord tenure, argues that the disorganization
of the feudal land-tenure system of India during the colonial period,
by slowing down investment in land improvement, especially irrigation
facilities, helped to prevent agricultural output from responding
121 to population growth. In Tonga the customs relating to land could
182 produce a similar result. While land is individually held and the
security of tenure good, land borrowing, sanctioned by custom, is
241 widespread and requests for land are not necessarily made only to
423 those who have it to spare. Consequently farmers do not have full
control over the use of their land, and although field work indicates
that this is not yet a reason for the failure to adopt new methods,
farmers may in the future be reluctant to make an investment in
improved techniques if the benefit of their investment may be gained
by someone else.†

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* In both these cases the failure to adopt new techniques could lead to the ecological collapse described by Geertz, particularly in drier environments where regeneration of the fallow vegetation is more difficult.

† See also the comments of Waddell (this volume) on the relation of investment in improvements to tenacity of land tenure.

175 [476 cont.]
433 The labour of the natives is therefore greater than that of the Taheitians, and
311 accounts for the regularity of the plantations, and the accurate
171
423 division of property. It is likewise to this source we must ascribe
175 it, that they have always set a higher value on their provisions
435 than on their tools, dresses, ornaments, and weapons, though
many of these must have cost them infinite time and application.
They very justly conceive the articles of food to be their principal
175 riches, of which the loss is absolutely not to be remedied. If we
142 observed their bodies more slender and their muscles harder than
461 those of the Taheitians, this seems to be the consequence of a
175 greater and more constant exertion of strength. Thus, perhaps, they
461 become industrious by force of habit, and when agriculture does not
433 occupy them, they are actuated to employ their vacant hours in the
fabrick of that variety of tools and instruments on which they
175 bestow so much time, patience, labour, and ingenuity. This industrious
181 turn has also led them, in the cultivation of all their arts, to so
[171] much greater perfection than the [477] Taheitians. By degrees they
have hit upon new inventions, and introduced an active spirit and
175 enlivening chearfulness even into their amusements. Their happiness
181 of temper they preserve under a political constitution, which does
642 not appear to be very favourable to liberty; but we need not go so
far from home to wonder at such a phaenomenon, when one of the most
enslaved people in all Europe, are characterised as the merriest
[651] and most facetious of mankind. Still there may be more sincerity
in the chearfulness of the natives of Tonga-Tabboo; for, exclusive
of great and almost servile submission, their king does not seem
to exact any thing from them, which by depriving them of the means

Land Tenure

423
421 The present system of land distribution reflects what has been called "overlapping stewardship" and is characteristic of many ethnographic Polynesian societies (Sahlins 1958: 6-8). In Tonga the crown owns all land; it is then divided into hereditary estates (tofi'a) held by nobles as primary tenants. The estates are divided into bush allotments ('api tukuhau) and town allotments ('api kolo) and commoners hold these as final tenants. Legally all male taxpayers enjoy the right to one allotment of each type, but in fact a large number of men have no registered allotments. The 1966 Census shows that 57.8 percent of the males over fifteen years of age were without land (Fiefia 1968: 30). The fact that there is insufficient land for all males to have an allotment of 8-1/4 acres will mean that as population increases the number
[426] of landless will increase. At present most peasants have access to land not through their legal rights but through sharing land with kinsmen or friends who have been able to obtain their allotments.

Tongan Society

161 Tonga's population in 1970 was estimated to be 87,406 (Tu'ipelehake
[162] 1970: 10). This population is relatively homogeneous with less than 1 percent of the population being of nationalities other than Tongan.
563 These non-Tongan components consist primarily of Europeans from throughout the British Commonwealth who are in the Kingdom as administrators and teachers, and a small population of Indians who are occupied in the commercial sector.

613 which membership is optional and dependent upon residence and kin ties.
It functions in regard to special events such as weddings, house con-
[612] struction, and funerals. Matakali in contrast to kāinga is not conceived of as egocentric, has a membership based on residence, and is
viable through more than one generation.

622 Today, an 'ulumotu'a may be almost any male who has some claim to
178 authority through seniority, title, or control of some other power base
such as the position of town officer. In pre-contact Tonga this was
probably not the case; Latukefu (1967: 8) states that in the past only
622 titled persons could hold the position of 'ulumotu'a. Also the 'ulumo-
178 tu'a of pre-contact Tonga were quite powerful as they held the final
423 rights to land in a sequence of overlapping stewardship from the Tu'i
Tonga down to the 'ulumotu'a level. Under that system the land of the
matakali was distributed and cultivated under the supervision of the
'ulumotu'a. The modern system of land tenure has altered the chain of
stewardship so that an 'ulumotu'a no longer receives land to administer.
Of course, the 'ulumotu'a receives land as an individual, as do all
other men, but he would not receive stewardship over a large block of
land unless he holds a title with an estate.

613 The matakali of today, compared to its historic form, appears to
178 have changed both in structure and function. Gifford (1929), Latukefu
(1967), and Maude (1971), all described matakali as segments of larger
(592) lineal groupings, ha'a. Now the matakali only group households but are
not themselves segments of larger units. This change is probably due
[622] [423] to the fact that 'ulumotu'a are no longer given land to administer and,

613 consequently, have no strong basis on which to maintain a relationship
178 with titled land holders. For the same reason--change in the land ten-
-622 ure--the power of the 'ulumotu'a over the members of the matakali has
423 diminished. Individuals no longer need rely on their 'ulumotu'a for
access to land.

Ha'a: The Criteria for Membership

613
128 In this section I will not fully describe ha'a as Gifford (1929), and Kaeppler (1971), have presented sufficient material on that topic. Here I will only say that ha'a are named groups of titles with the present relationship between titles defined and ranked by the consanguineal relationships existing between the first titleholders. The ha'a are themselves ranked by their genealogical proximity to the first Tu'i Tonga.

613 In doing research my interest in ha'a was in discovering whether
565 or not commoners were affiliated with ha'a, and if so, how were they
(121) affiliated. What I found was that commoners in the village of Puke disclaim affiliation with ha'a except by virtue of residence, i.e., they claimed affiliation to the noble on whose estate they resided. An exception to this was an informant who claimed affiliation with another noble because most of his kinsmen lived on the estate of that noble, and he had only recently lived there himself. However, claiming affiliation and claiming membership are quite different. Commoners in Puke would not say they belonged to the ha'a of their noble.

All legitimate real sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters

428 424 agnatic ties to the most recent titleholder should succeed to the title. [562] A female may be invested with the rights of a title through inheritance if there are no male heirs, but she cannot exercise those rights. She can, however, pass the title on to her male descendant.

428 The inheritance of land is codified in law and land cannot be 423 willed; rather, the heir is determined by law (Maude 1971: 112). However, exceptions to these laws are common as land is often inherited in a manner that is jurally, but not legally, binding. This is possible because a great many allotments are not registered, but held by individuals [597] at the discretion of nobles. Under these circumstances even children of an adoptive status, not recognized by law, can and do inherit land. Alaric Maude (1971: 112-113) discribes the legal aspects of land inheritance. Here I would like to present the following as an ideal case of property inheritance from an untitled deceased.

After the death of a married man with children of both sexes 'all property above the ground' *koloa 'ihe funga kelikeli* passes into the control of his wife. She may dispose of this property as she wishes. She also inherits the rights to use the land as long as she wishes or until her death. After the death of the deceased's wife, his eldest son will usually inherit the rights of usufruct to his father's land; this is in accord with the law. Although the law does not recognize wills for land inheritance, dying men may name who they want to inherit their land. Even though such a practice is not in accord with written law, it is usually recognized and respected within the community for 428 604 land that is not registered. Also unrecognized by law is the custom of

428 inheritance from MB. This procedure is followed as an aspect of the
604 fahu relationship where ZS has the right to claim property of his MB as his own. Such a custom of inheritance is followed in cases where a man dies without sons, and so the second son of the deceased's eldest sister can inherit, the first son inheriting from his father. These customs
[423] that are not in fact legal will probably continue as long as large portions of land remain unregistered.

Stranger and Friend

609 Non-kinsmen are conceptualized and categorized according to ego's familiarity with them. All foreigners to Tonga are muli. Tongan strangers to one's village are sola or vūlangi; these terms are fre-
609 quently used in a derogatory manner. The use of these terms reflects
628 the animosity which exists between villages and is sometimes manifested in fighting, particularly between boys and younger men. In many of these incidents the fact that one person or a group is from another village is enough to provoke a fight.

572 Terminologically, Tongans distinguish two broad categories of friends. Kaume'a are close friends and usually include only persons of the same sex and approximately the same age as ego. This term can be used to refer to friends of the opposite sex, but here implies a courting relationship. The term sō is usually used to refer to one's girlfriend or boyfriend. Kaume'a work and play together and freely share their material possessions. Kaume'a are very important to children and young unmarried persons of both sexes. Interaction with one's kautaha

241 in such groups and work progresses with a great deal of conversation
461
476 and joking; frequent breaks for drinking coconuts and smoking are also
important as is a midday break for eating and sleeping.

During 1971 seventeen of the adult men in Puke belonged to work groups called kautaha toungāue 'association that works in rotation'. There were two such groups, one having a membership of ten and the other a membership of seven. Each group had a timekeeper but no other leader. The tasks undertaken by the groups were planting and hoeing for each member in the following manner. Each day on which the kautaha was to work, each member had one hour in the morning to work on his own garden plot; the remainder of the day the entire membership worked on the land of one member. The order of rotation was established by the criterion of the proximity of each garden to the village, group work beginning in the closest garden and ending at the most distant.

The basis of membership in these groups seems to be residence and friendship, as all members of one group reside in the northern half of the village and the members of the other group all reside in the southern half.

423 All household heads in Puke have access to land through one of the
426 following: (1) legal usufruct rights based on registration with the
427 government, (2) usufruct rights granted by the noble holding the estate,
or (3) usufruct rights "loaned" by a person holding land by one of the other two methods. In the village thirteen men hold land as legal registrants, fourteen hold land at the discretion of a noble, and fifteen use land of a kinsman or friend.

laua. Later, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, desiring 643 173 to become like the Tu'i Tonga himself and be free of the responsibilities of the *hau*, created another dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and appointed one of his sons, Ngata, to this position in order that the latter would take over the responsibilities of the *hau*. The establishment of this third dynasty took place about the beginning of the seventeenth century (Gifford 1929:86). The responsibilities of administering the affairs of the country were thus gradually transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line.

Apart from his divine sanctity, the Tu'i Tonga's position was 643 582 644 enhanced by a marriage arrangement between the Tu'i Tonga and the *hau* dynasties. The eldest daughter of the *hau* was usually given as a *moheofo* (principal wife) to the Tu'i Tonga. As a result the next Tu'i Tonga, who was the son of the *moheofo*, would be in a relationship of *fahu*[2] (unlimited authority) to the *hau* who would be his maternal uncle. For this reason, when the system was at its peak, the *hau* dynasty (first the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu) felt privileged and honoured to support and maintain the position of the Tu'i Tonga.

The Tongan system of land tenure rested upon the assumption 643 423 that, owing to his divine origin, all land in Tonga from the beginning belonged to the Tu'i Tonga, and that the rights possessed by other chiefs therefore derived from him. In recognition [651] [776] of this, and also of the fact that he was regarded as the repre-

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[2] The term *fahu* was derived from the Fijian word *vasu* which is the [604] [171] [174] commoner term for sister's son or daughter. In certain areas of Fiji, the sister's male children are *vasu* and this gives them the right to inherit all the portable property of their mother's brother. Capell and Lester (1946:241-2) suggest that the *vasu* right in its simpler form came into western Polynesia from Fiji, and that the more extended form of *vasu* right also developed in Fiji and 'from eastern Fiji the right will have passed direct to Tonga, and it did so because the existing Tongan social system provided it with a ready welcome'. Their contention is supported by Tongan traditions which say the *fahu* began with the marriage of the Fijian chief, Tapu'osi, with the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Tu'i Tonga's sister). Their children became *fahu* over the Tu'i Tonga, and theoretically over the whole of Tonga (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote). In actual practice, the privileges of the *fahu* among [565] commoners were severely restricted by the more powerful rights of the chiefs over commoners' property. Hence the custom was only strictly enforced by the chiefly classes (Gifford 1929:22-6; Collocott 1923b:223).

643 sentative of Hikule'o, the god of harvest, an annual festival of
423 *'inasi* (offering of the first fruits to him) was held.[3] It was believed
651 that failure to carry out the *'inasi* would result in calamity and the
whole land would suffer from divine wrath.

[776] The land was gradually divided among the principal chiefs
[784] as the population increased with the years and, in practice, they
became the effective controllers of their respective land. Once a
423 *tofi'a* (hereditary estate) had been allocated to a chief, it remained
565 associated with his title and neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the *hau*
643 ever revoked it (Waldegrave 1834:185), though they could
depose its existing title holder and choose another. The chiefs
[651] further acknowledged their indebtedness to the Tu'i Tonga for
their land by paying him tributes and by performing the traditional
fatongia[4] *(corvée).*

659 Politics was closely interwoven with religion in Tonga. Every
chiefly person possessed some degree of *mana* or supernatural
565 power. However, the amount of *mana* a chief received was also
778 thought to depend on the good will of the gods. Chiefs made
offerings to obtain the favour of the gods and consulted them on
565 important occasions, particularly before going to war or embarking
[782] on distant voyages. When any misfortune or natural disaster
[787] occurred it was attributed to the anger of the gods. Since the
[784] chiefs, who were the political leaders, relied upon priests as their
mediators with the gods, a close alliance existed between them and
793 the religious leaders in order to maintain their mutual interests.
565 The powers of the priests were second only to those of the chiefs.

The Tongans were polytheistic and possessed a hierarchy of gods.
776 Among the principal gods were the *kau* Tangaloa,[5] who lived in
the sky, the *kau* Maui, who lived in the underworld, and the deity
Hikule'o, who held Pulotu, or the Tongan paradise (Collocott
1921:152-3; Farmer 1855:133; Thomson 1894:23).

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[3] Because *'inasi* was a religious festival, it was different from the ordinary offering of first fruits to the chiefs which was called *polopolo* (Gifford 1929:103; Martin 1827, I:201; Williamson 1924, III:347-8).

[4] Vason stated, 'It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "Fadongyeer", i.e. to dig plant and labour for Dugonagaboola' (Orange 1840:139).

[5] *kau* is a plural sign. It comes before nouns denoting persons.

643 King George to visit New South Wales to see how the people of
177 civilised countries lived and managed their affairs. The King
eagerly accepted the idea and was ready to leave Tonga on a
648 man-of-war, 'but the Missionaries, fearing that influences unfriendly
797 to his spirituality might possibly act upon him in such a vessel'
(Young 1854:213) persuaded him to wait for their own vessel,
the *John Wesley*.

The extent of the impact of this new experience on the King's
643 mind remains a matter for conjecture, but one wonders whether
177 he may not have received a similar impression to the one expressed
by his son, Tēvita 'Unga, when he visited Sydney in 1872. When
648 'Unga returned to Tonga, he told the people that he had discovered on his trip that 'rulers' in Sydney were not all ministers
of religion but businessmen (W. T. Rabone to his father, 5 July
[671] 1872, WMMSA 1852-79). There was one experience, however,
which left a marked impression on King George, and which was
643 later reflected in the 1862 Code of Laws. In Sydney he encountered poverty. It has been said that he saw many poorly
177 dressed people, obviously ill-fed, sleeping in the parks. He asked
735 about these people, and was told they were homeless people who
had no place to go. This state of affairs was greatly surprising to
King George, who could not understand how there could be
homeless and poverty-stricken people in a land as large and
obviously rich as Australia. His heart was so full of pity for the
plight of these people that he determined that such an appalling
situation should never be allowed to arise in Tonga (informant, Her
643 Majesty the late Queen Sālote). The King was also very impressed
177 with the leasehold system of land tenure which he saw in Sydney,
and he made up his mind that the land in Tonga should be distributed
● 423 among his own people along similar lines.

This appears to have been the origin of King George's idea
of legislating for the individual ownership of land—a revolutionary
643 change in the system of land tenure in Tonga. The prohibition
of the sale of land which appeared in Clause II of the 1862 Code
423 was only a legislation of customary land tenure, but the notion of
177 individual ownership of land by leasehold was something quite
new.

671 One can observe the influence of his overseas experience in

the provision of the Code which compels the chiefs to allot portions 643
of land to the people and as long as they pay their tribute and 423
rent to the chief they cannot be dispossessed (see Appendix C,
Clause XXXIV:6 and 7[1]. 177

Although documentary evidence is lacking, it seems highly 671
probable that King George met Charles St Julian in Sydney
towards the end of 1853 or just before his return to Tonga in 643
early 1854. At any rate, St Julian wrote several letters to King
George in 1854 and 1855. 177

The missionary, Thomas West, reported that he had received 648
an official document from St Julian towards the end of 1854, which the latter had asked him to translate for King George. According to West this document contained three main suggestions: that Hawaii and Tonga would enter into political and commercial relationships; that the King would take steps to secure a formal recognition of his independence by foreign powers; and that he should establish a constitutional government. This document, together with a copy of the constitution adopted by Hawaii at this time, was accordingly translated and presented to the King.

He appears to have given the submission careful consideration, but he thought that 'the introduction of such a movement would be inopportune' (West 1865:393). In a letter addressed to St Julian on 24 November 1854, thanking him for his letter and for his desire to help him and his people to elevate his kingdom, King George stated:

> My Kingdom is established in these days. It has its laws and the people obey them . . . I greatly desire in these days to raise my people and my land that they may become civilised like the various Kingdoms of the world . . . and this is the Book of our Laws that I send you. Do you look into it. and if there be anything that seems strange or wrong you make it known to me and I will consider respecting it. (Tupou to St Julian. 24 Nov. 1854)

St Julian followed this up with another three letters in 1855. In the first, dated 25 April, he stated the objects of his correspondence:

> I have not the slightest desire to dictate. I tender advice because Your Majesty has requested me so to do: because it is my earnest desire . . . that your Kingdom should be permanently independent;

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[1] [See category 671, p. 248--Analyst]

79: Lātūkefu, H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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871

> We stand by our schools, and are trying to prosecute this department of the work with vigour. It is very arduous and often discouraging, through the indolence and indifference of the people. Civilization and commerce are not yet sufficiently advanced to make them feel so deeply the importance of secular knowledge, as to impel them onward in its pursuit as ardently as to conquer the natural indifference of a tropical constitution; hence we are often discouraged; but 'though faint we yet pursue'. (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, April 1858:53)

[671] The missionaries were very concerned about this situation. They discussed the matter with the King and his governors and the results can be seen in the provisions of the Code which make education compulsory (Clause XXXII).

Naturally, they were pleased about this, for it must be remembered that the only schools which existed at this time were mission schools. One missionary wrote of this law:

> I am thankful to entertain the hope that the King, in conjunction with his chiefs, has enlarged our field of usefulness, by compelling parents to educate their children . . . many of the parents took their children away from the school, or allowed them to neglect it; but this will not be the case in future. The people have been set at liberty by a good King, and one of their best interests has evidently not been overlooked in the enactment of such a law. Wisdom is the handmaid of Religion, and we hope that our labours to extend the Gospel, by religiously educating the rising generation, will produce much fruit. (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, April 1863:355)

671 651 King George seems to have been convinced of the wisdom of establishing a public revenue, as St Julian had emphasised in his letters. Customs duties were levied on wines and spirits, arms and ammunition. A licence of 100 dollars per annum was required for the sale of spirits, and every male over 16 was to pay a poll tax. 671 423 Finally the new Code gave powers to the government to resume uncultivated lands which were not used by the people as a further incentive for the productive utilisation of land, thereby indirectly promoting the growth of the economy (Clause XL).

671 797 The missionaries gave the promulgation of the 1862 Code a mixed reception. Baker praised the event very highly, while another missionary, Whewell, wrote critically:

[651]

> The doings of this parliament will affect our work in its most fundamental organizations and institutions . . . in a way you little

671 565 641 Thomson was quite wrong here. The emancipation laws did not have the mere object of freeing slaves. Tonga's emancipation was the freeing of the people from the bondage of an institutional system akin to feudalism. Wood rightly points out that 'though the serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable to a condition of slavery under masters of another race, as in America, yet the ancient absolute power of Tongan chiefs over the lives and property of their people was out of keeping with the position of the country even in 1862' (Wood 1932:56-7).

671 [648] [651] ●[423] The favourable reactions to the Code, from both Australia and England, were heartening to King George, who wished to obtain the recognition of the world at large for his government. The Tongans, apart from the chiefs who resented the infringement of their privileges, welcomed the Code with enthusiasm. For many of the commoners, in particular, the new codes brought opportunities for greater prosperity, through the distribution of tax allotments and the abolition of the chiefs' rights over their people's property, though later some felt the burden of taxation just as heavily if not heavier than the traditional *fatongia*.

671 429 The beneficial effects were reported by the British Vice-Consul, A. P. Maudslay, in 1879 when he wrote to the Marquis of Salisbury:

> In 1862 . . . every taxpayer was, under the most solemn oaths taken by the King and chiefs, guaranteed a good title to his town plot and country land, with liberty to bequeath his title to his heirs and successors. This plan was . . . a great success. Feeling secure of their lands the people set to work to plant coconuts with so much industry that in a few years the exports of the country were increased enormously. (Maudslay to Salisbury. 23 Jan. 1879, Britain 1876-1880)

671 643 797 The Code of Laws of 1862 was mainly due to King George's own progressive thinking and matured political judgment. Certainly, it was not forced upon him by the missionaries, nor did it come as a result of their importunities, as Basil Thomson would have us believe. The relationship between King George and the senior missionaries had become so awkward at this time that he did not ask the missionaries, as a body, for their advice in preparing this Code. However, he had maintained friendly relations

were not allowed to say what they wished—but were told to take 642
what had been prepared for them, and be thankful' (J. B. Watkin
to General Secretary, 12 Jan. 1876, Watkin 1855-79). 643

Evidently the constitution was a major innovation on the King's part, and the principal motives which actuated him to make such a move were clear: to maintain Tonga's independence by gaining recognition for it from the great powers; and to ensure its future internal stability and integrity, particularly after his death. However, this memorable document ought not to be viewed in isolation, for it marked the culmination of several progressive attempts by King George to achieve acceptable, Christian, civilised legislation for his country.

The first simple written Code of Laws in Tonga, the Vava'u 671
Code of 1839, contained some constitutional measures. Although
it did not end the rule of the chiefs. it put a stop to their 642
arbitrary powers over their subjects and it established the rule of [565]
law. Judges were appointed and foreigners were expected to [693]
respect the laws. It also ensured the supremacy of the power of [643]
the King.

The more comprehensive Code of Laws of 1850 contained more
constitutional measures. It laid down a comparatively more elabor- [643]
ate system of government and consolidated the King's position. It
clearly and definitely expressed the supremacy of his rule (Clauses
I and II). It limited the power of the chiefs (Clause V), defined [565]
the position of the judges (Clause III) and dealt briefly with land [693]
tenure (Clause XXIX). In Clause XIII individual ownership of [423]
property was also touched upon where it was made an offence
to take anything forcibly without the owner's consent. [685]

The 1862 Code contained further comprehensive constitutional 671
measures, important new provisions with regard to the power of
the King which subjected him to the rule of law (Clause I:3). 642
The introduction of this measure by the King indicates the secure 643
position he had achieved and was a triumph for the rule of law.
The whole country now accepted his kingship, admired his abilities and leadership, and he had won the respect, loyalty and love of all his people, including those who disagreed with some of his views. In the minds of his subjects, the King's will and the laws

642 the whole land during civil war or war between the kingdom and
643 another country.

The next division after the King was the Privy Council, which
642 was composed of the Cabinet Ministers, the Governors and the
Chief Justice. Its functions were to advise the King in his work
645 and to serve as a final court of appeal.

Following the Privy Council was the Cabinet. It was composed of the Premier, Treasurer, Minister for Lands and the Minister for Police. The ministers were appointed by the King, 'from the Nobles, or from the representatives of the people, or from persons outside, And if so they shall enter the Legislative Assembly' (Clause 63:1). The duties of the Premier and of each of the ministers were all laid down (Clause 55).

The Legislative Assembly was composed of the ministers, nobles
642 and the representatives of the people. The nobles consisted of
646 twenty chiefs who were appointed for life by the King to the Legislative Assembly, and there were twenty representatives of the people who were to be elected by the people.

The judicial power of the kingdom was vested in the Supreme
642 Court, the Circuit Court and the Police Courts. The Supreme
692 Court consisted of the Chief Justice and two associated justices.
[693] These justices of the Supreme Court were to be appointed by
the King with the consent of the Cabinet.

The King and the Legislative Assembly decided the number of Circuit Courts to be held in the kingdom, and these were held by one of the justices. All cases brought before the Supreme Court and the Circuit Courts were to be tried by a jury of twelve. The King and the Legislative Assembly also had the power to determine the number and frequency of Police Courts, and the Legislative Assembly was to regulate the powers of the police magistrates.

In the third section dealing with land matters, all land in
642 Tonga was declared to belong to the King who could grant estates
423 known as *tofi'a* to the twenty nobles appointed by him. The titles
565 and the *tofi'a* were to be hereditary, and the laws of inheritance
for the throne and these titles were set out in this section. The
nobles were to lease portions of their *tofi'a* to their people.

642 The constitution made it unlawful for anyone, whether he was
423 King, chief or commoner, 'to sell one part of a foot of the ground
427

of the Kingdom of Tonga, but only to lease it in accordance 642
with this Constitution' (Clause 109), and only leases approved
by the Cabinet were to be recognised. Any lands which were not 423
owned by anyone, or any *tofi'a* which failed to have legitimate 427
heirs should revert to the government, and the government had
the right to lease such lands.

The Constitution of 1875 marked the culmination of a gradual
process by which King George had attempted to bring to Tonga 642
the type of legal and constitutional machinery which would enable [648]
her to gain recognition from the civilised nations and maintain
her own independent and stable government. Many of the pro-
visions of this constitution departed altogether from traditional [643]
precedents, as, for example, in the laws of succession not only to [428]
the throne but also to the hereditary titles of the whole country.

Traditionally, hereditary succession to the throne was not 643
automatic, but was decided upon by an 'electoral college' from
among several claimants. The selection of successors to the other 565
chiefly titles had been in the hands of the principal chiefs of the
ha'a to which the title belonged. Usually they chose the most cap- [613]
able candidate. This was essential at a time when the welfare of
the whole community depended almost entirely on the wisdom and
abilities of its paramount chief. However, there had been bitter [578]
rivalry among the various claimants which often resulted in open [669]
conflict and war between factions.

By the 1870s there was considerable speculation among both
Tongans and European settlers and British administrators in the 643
South Pacific, as to who would become the successor to King
George, after his long reign, extending from his rulership of
Ha'apai since 1820, of Vava'u since 1833 and of the whole of
Tonga since 1845. Many prophesied that civil war would break
out over this question if nothing were done about it. As early [197]
as the 1850s the missionaries had repeatedly requested King
George to declare a successor.[2] St Julian had also dealt with [177]

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[2] The Rev. R. Amos wrote:

> On the 9th of December 1856 I invited the King and Queen to dine with the Prince at our residence on Olobeka Hill, and on that occasion I told His Majesty that some persons blamed him for not publicly proclaiming George as his successor. His reply was 'It is

which had actually been a council of chiefs. The *fakataha* were 646
held at irregular intervals, depending upon whether the King
wished them to be held, and the chiefs acted in a purely advisory
capacity. There were several quite revolutionary features in the
new Legislative Assembly. For instance, it included an equal 646
number of chiefs and representatives of the people and, for the 565
first time, commoners joined the chiefs in discussing political
matters. This was a remarkable innovation in a land where commoners
had been regarded as mere tools and possessions of the
chiefs.

The teachings of the missionaries on the equality of all men 565
before God had significantly raised the social status of commoners, 797
and their participation in church organisations together with the
chiefs had helped to prepare the ground for their greater social
and political acceptance. This was further assisted by the founding 873
of Tupou College in 1866, where Moulton implemented a policy
of treating all students alike, be they chiefs or commoners. The 565
only hierarchy recognised within the College was a hierarchy of
intellectual achievement. Since significant numbers of commoners 565
passed through the College, a mutual respect began to develop
between them and the chiefly class, and this made it less difficult 646
for the nobles to accept the constitutional provisions for commoner [873]
representation in the Assembly. Only those chiefs who had
failed to gain a place for themselves in the Assembly showed any
resentment.

It is paradoxical that the very constitution which set out to 565
limit the powers of the monarchy should have created a new [642]
landed aristocracy with increased powers. This would appear to
be the very reverse of what both the missionaries and King George
had been trying to achieve with the earlier legislation, which aimed
at limiting the power of the chiefs and raising the status of commoners.
In the new constitution a certain number of chiefs were [642]
now to be chosen by the King and made the nobles of Tonga;[3] [643]
they were to be given tracts of land to be their *tofi'a* or hereditary [423]
estates.

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[3] In the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852 upon which this was modelled, the King appointed thirty nobles for life (Chambers 1896:19).

The new constitution, in effect, gave the nobles a form of
565 indirect power over their people. The fact that the commoners
423 received their leases of land from the nobles made them feel
425 obliged to give *polopolo* (first fruits) of their crops, the best of
anything produced or acquired, or their services to the nobles.
Observance of these obligations was regarded as evidence of one's loyalty and as a sign of good citizenship. Applicants and would-be applicants for land had to be particularly generous with their gifts if they were to win favour with their landlord.

Later on, when provisions were made in the laws allowing commoners to register their land, the noble would allot a piece of land for a trial period, the length of which depended upon his own personal whim.[4] If he was satisfied with the applicant's 'behaviour' (particularly his generosity and servility) he would then permit him to register the land, but if he were displeased, he could take back the land and give it to someone else.

In a recent study of land usage in Tonga, Maude writes:

> Since the Emancipation of 1862 the chiefs of Tonga, of whom the nobles are the only ones now recognized in the Constitution, have lost most of their power over their people; they have however, retained some control over the distribution of land, for the title-holder's approval is needed before the grant for an allotment of his estate can be registered by the Minister of Lands. By law the objections of an estate-holder to the grant of an allotment may be overruled by the Minister, but few villagers would ever go to him with a complaint against a noble, . . . Since throughout the period of 'probation' a farmer will be careful to give food and other gifts to the title-holder to improve his chances of obtaining the necessary approval, and since after registration with its consequent security of tenure such gifts are considerably less frequent, some nobles delay registration or even refuse it indefinitely so as to retain some economic control over their people. (A. Maude 1965:105)

The commoners' tribute and subservience, which openly
565 acknowledge the superiority of the nobles, helped to water down
641 the declaration in the constitution that all men were to be equal
642 in the eyes of the law and that everyone had a right to his life

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[4] According to Dr A. Maude, who surveyed the land tenure in Tonga, the earliest registration known to the Lands Department in Tonga was in 1898 (personal communication, 20 Oct. 1966).

and property, which many chiefs viewed as a threat to their power 565
and prestige. The chiefs naturally desired to see these acts of sub- 641
mission perpetuated in order to maintain their privileges. The
continuance of these customs in modern times has proved a 642
major obstacle to the social, economic and political development
of the people.[5]

Economically the nobles continued to amass wealth at the 565
expense of the common people. Maude's study of land tenure in 423
Tonga has shown that some of the nobles became reluctant to
subdivide their *tofi'a* into bush allotments for those who were
eligible for them and that they also tried to hinder those who
already held leases from registering these allotments. The nobles
of course realised that, once such land had been registered, they
could no longer reclaim it, providing that its holder abided by
the land laws. They further realised that their land was their sole
means of securing their privileges. As a result, a considerable
proportion of land remained unregistered, and the resulting in-
security of tenure diminished incentives for land improvement,
since the tenants were only concerned with satisfying their immedi-
ate wants.[6]

From the perspective of the present, the creation of the landed 565
nobility appears to have been a blunder, for it helped to create
some of the very problems it sought to eliminate. However, this
move must be seen in relation to the time in which the constitution 565
was promulgated. It can be regarded as an ingenious step on the 642
part of the King and his constitutional adviser, Baker, to make 663
some concessions to the chiefs in the face of their mounting
resentment at their loss of power. It was also based upon the
realisation that the constitution could not succeed without the
support of the powerful chiefs, particularly if King George's im-
mediate successor should prove to be a weaker ruler. The creation
of the nobility helped to quell the opposition from the most
powerful chiefs and won their support and loyalty.

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[5] There are of course other factors which must also be considered such as lack of ambition, customary obligations, etc. (see A. Maude 1965:164).

[6] Quite recently a land survey was completed in Tonga and the subdivision [659]
of much of the *ngaahi tofi'a* was undertaken. At the present time (1972) the Lands Department is busy distributing them to successful applicants (A. Maude 1965:107).

6

Tonga[1]

EQUALITY OVERTAKING PRIVILEGE

ALARIC MAUDE

423 THE SYSTEM of land tenure which has existed in the Kingdom
of Tonga since the late nineteenth century differs in many
641 respects from those of other parts of the South Pacific, its two
most distinctive features being that land rights are granted solely
to individuals, and that every taxpayer (that is, every male
Tongan aged sixteen years and over) is entitled to eight and
one-quarter acres of agricultural land and a small town allotment
121 on which to build his house. These features, and others described
below, raise a number of questions. Does the present system
differ significantly from that of the pre-contact past? How effective
is it in practice, and does it provide a sound basis for agricultural
development? Are tenure changes necessary to cope with the
present rapid population growth? This chapter attempts to
answer these questions.

131 The 150 islands of Tonga are scattered over 450 miles of ocean
[161] in Western Polynesia. With a total land area of only 256 square
miles they support a population of about 80,000 persons. The
133 Kingdom's only natural resources are the soil and the surrounding
reefs and seas, and the economy is overwhelmingly agricultural.
[433] Over ninety per cent of Tongans live in the three main
[361] groups of Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u, where the islands
are of raised limestone formation. The surface of Tongatapu is
flat or very gently undulating and as in all the islands of this
type there are no permanent streams. The islands of Ha'apai
are small, low and scattered, while those of Vava'u are higher
134 and have a terraced appearance. About eighty-five per cent of
the total land area of the raised limestone islands is suitable for
cultivation, and the soils, being largely derived from volcanic
ash, are very fertile. The main soil type of these islands is a

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

fertile loamy to clayey soil, termed *kelefatu* by Tongans, which 134
covers most of Tongatapu and Vava'u and much of Ha'apai.
The other significant type, *tou'one,* is a sandy and less fertile 134
soil found at low elevations near the sea, particularly in Ha'apai
where it influences the pattern of land division. On Ha'afeva 423
(see Figure 1)A for example, most landholders have their holding 182
in two separate roughly two-acre sections, one of *kelefatu* and
one of *tou'one.* Elsewhere in the raised limestone islands local
variations in land quality are not sufficient to affect land tenure.

TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE

423
The evidence so far available on the pre-contact landholding 175
system in Tonga is inadequate and sometimes conflicting, and
much research remains to be done. The basic unit of society was 175
the household or *'api,* which generally consisted of a married 592
couple, their unmarried children, any married sons with their
families, and perhaps one or more other relatives. Descent was 175
usually, but not exclusively, patrilineal, and a number of house-
holds whose members considered themselves to be related by 613
descent through males from a common ancestor formed a lineage
or *fa'ahinga.*[2] The *fa'ahinga* was headed by an *'ulumotu'a,* who [565]
usually held an hereditary title as *matapule, foha* or *tehina*[3] to
the chief. Since membership of the *fa'ahinga* was generally [591]
reckoned through the father, and since residence on marriage
was usually with the parents of the husband, members of the
fa'ahinga lived mostly in one area.

Several *fa'ahinga* together formed the group subject to the 175
authority and control of a chief. One of these *fa'ahinga* was the 613
lineage of the chief himself. Some or all of the others were be-
lieved to be related to him by descent from a common ancestor, 565
but some were founded by outsiders who attached themselves to
a chief, often as *matapule* (Gifford 1929:140-1). A group of re-
lated titled chiefs formed a *ha'a* and claimed to be connected by
descent from a common ancestor. The *ha'a* was partly a kinship
group in that its chiefs considered themselves to be related to
each other and to most of the people under them, but it also
had the character of 'a political association of people around
a lineage core' (Nayacakalou 1959:95). On Tongatapu the *ha'a* [631]
formed rough but not completely exclusive territorial units.

The broad features of this social structure were reflected in 175
the land tenure system, but interpretations of the available 423
evidence differ in some significant aspects. Some writers suggest 631

A[See Category 423, p. 109--Analyst.]

175 that the Tu'i Tonga was the nominal and the chiefs the actual
423 owners of the land, and the commoners simply tenants at will
(see Gifford 1929:174-5; Nayacakalou 1959:94-7 and Beaglehole
631 1941:19), but such terms as 'owner' and 'tenant' must be suspect
when applied to a Polynesian culture. Other evidence suggests
175 a pattern resembling that of neighbouring territories, where land
423 rights were held by social groups but were vested nominally in
the titled head of that group. Gifford, for instance, notes that
631 land once granted, whether to chiefs, *matapule* or commoners,
613 remained indefinitely in the family of the grantee (see also
Martin 1818: vol. II:91); Waldegrave and Radcliffe Brown re-
[425] cord that the Tu'i Tonga could not dispossess a chief (Walde-
grave 1833:185 and Williamson 1924: vol. III:266); and the
evidence of contemporary informants suggests that it would have
been unusual for a *fa'ahinga* to have lost its land except through
warfare (see also Williamson 1924: vol. III:231). It was also noted
[565] earlier that the *fa'ahinga* and the group headed by a chief were
basically descent groups and occupied fairly distinct areas, and
[425] several recent but knowledgeable informants maintain that in old
Tonga a chief allocated land to the various *'ulumotu'a* under
him, for their people to cultivate and live on, and that a man
obtained the use of land through his *fa'ahinga* and not as a
direct grant from his chief as is the case in the present system.
423 An example of this pattern can be seen in Figure 1. The first
map of Niutoua, in eastern Tongatapu, shows the pattern of
613 land division around 1910, and the landholders at that time can
be grouped into three *fa'ahinga*, each occupying a particular part
[565] of the land.[4] One *fa'ahinga* was headed by the former chief of
the area and the others by his two *matapule*.

Most of the evidence on landholding within the *fa'ahinga*
423 suggests that in times of peace people lived in extended family
613 groups scattered over the land (for example, Orlebar 1833:49),
and almost all contemporary informants state that allotments
596 were held by the heads of these families, with married sons
working the lands of their fathers and not holding allotments of
423 their own as at present. Individual tenure, in my opinion, is
therefore a recent development.

178 The above evidence suggests that the various social groups
had definite land rights, yet there is little doubt that these rights
423 could be overruled by the chiefs, and that a chief could allocate
565 land even against the wishes of its hereditary occupiers. He was
expected to take the interests of his people into consideration,
613 however, and to act in consultation with the *'ulumotu'a* under
[425]

423
613
102
311

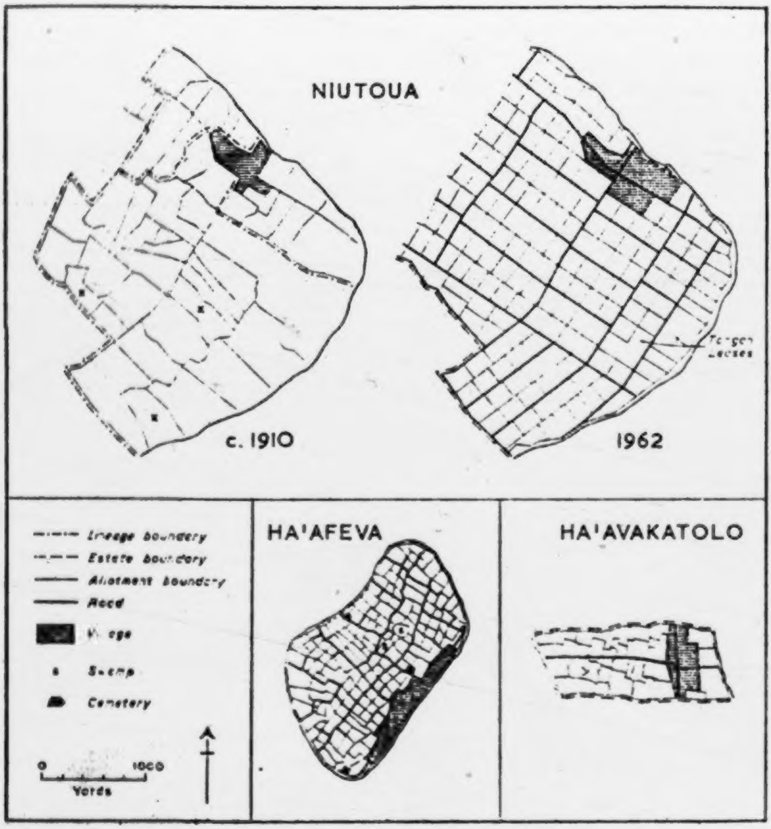
NIUTOUA
c. 1910
1962
Tongan Leases
Lineage boundary
Estate boundary
Allotment boundary
Road
Village
Swamp
Cemetery
0
1000
Yards
HA'AFEVA
HA'AVAKATOLO

Fig. 1 Land division in Tonga: some examples

him (see also Williamson 1924: vol. II:478-80 and vol. III:119-21). Ultimate title to the land was considered to be vested in the Tu'i Tonga, and the position of a chief seems to have been more that of a ruler of an area and its people than that of a landlord. 423 565 613 [631] [643]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT LAND TENURE SYSTEM

423 178 [643]

While the exact nature of the traditional tenure system remains uncertain the development of the present system, particularly as it exists in law, can be traced more reliably. The first major change came in 1850 when George Tupou, finally established as the ruler of Tonga, claimed all the land by right of conquest,

423 and in 1852 he told a meeting of the leading chiefs that 'No
178 person has any title to lands in these Islands except by grant
643 from the Government' (Amos 1852). This claim was strengthened
and brought into conformity with traditional Tongan feeling in
1865 when the remaining powers of the Tui Tonga were conferred
423 on Tupou by the chiefs. The sale of land to foreigners
was forbidden in 1850, although leasing was permitted under
178 government control. By 1872, if not earlier, this prohibition was
432 extended to cover sales of land to Tongans.

[609] Other developments in land tenure resulted from a combination
423 of missionary influences (particularly from the Reverend
Shirley Baker, a Wesleyan missionary who later became Premier),
178 the King's own desire to elevate Tonga into the ranks of the
civilized nations, and the need for government revenue. The
651 1862 code, which freed the commoners from forced labour and
[177] compulsory contributions to their chiefs, also stated '. . . the
chiefs shall allot portions of land to the people as they may need,
which shall be their farm, and as long as the people pay their
tribute, and their rent to the chief, it shall not be lawful for
any chief to dispossess them . . .' (West 1865:434). Baker later
claimed credit for this provision, explaining that his aim had
been to ensure that those required to pay taxes had the means
to earn the necessary money (Rutherford 1966:54-5). This may
be the origin of the later principle that each taxpayer was entitled
to an allotment, although under the traditional system the
holding of land was probably also linked with the payment of
tribute.

423 The Constitution of 1875 elaborated and refined these principles,
178 and also provided for the granting of estates to the chiefs.
Since 1852 all land had legally belonged to the King, and unoccupied
643 land had come under the control of the Crown rather
565 than the chief of the district in which it lay. Between 1875
and 1882, however, Tupou appointed a number of chiefs and
[427] *matapule* as virtual landlords of the districts, in most cases those
they had traditionally controlled, and gave them the power to
lease land to their people and, with the approval of Cabinet,
to foreigners, with the rents being paid to the holder of the
178 estate. The Constitution appears to have been the work of Baker.
Rutherford (1966:155) suggests that 'The creation of a nobility
565 was probably a move by Baker to enlist the support of the more
641 powerful chiefs . . .', and there is little doubt that political
stability was improved by giving both the King's main supporters
and the more important of his opponents secure and comfortable
positions in the new order.

positions in the new order. On the other hand, Tupou himself 000
stated at the opening of Parliament in 1875 that 643

> . . . the law of Tonga was up to this day that the whole of the 423
> soil of Tonga belonged to me; but this did not appear to me to 178
> be just and we have made an Ordinance as follows: The estates
> really belonging to the chiefs of our land shall be theirs, and they 565
> and their descendants shall hold them forever (Hunter 1963:2).

Some chiefs, however, were not granted estates, many areas 565
remaining under the control of the King, and although the present
holders of these chiefly titles are still respected for their 423
rank, their functions are now purely ceremonial. The *'ulumotu'a*, 178
the heads of the various lineages under a chief, also lost position, [554]
for while in the traditional land tenure system they appear to
have had some function in the distribution of land, under the [613]
Constitution control over land allocation on the hereditary
estates was vested solely in the estate-holders, with individuals
receiving land as a direct grant from their chief.

The 1875 legislation was in several respects incomplete, and 423
following a review by Baker, who became Minister of Lands in
1880, an Act of 1882 established the right of each male Tongan 178
of tax-paying age to be granted a town allotment and a gardening 641
or 'tax' allotment by the holder of the estate on which he lived.
Tax allotments, which were to be heritable in the male line, 423
were to be 100 fathoms square, or eight and a quarter acres,
except in western Tongatapu and in Ha'apai where they were 178
to be only fifty fathoms square because of the greater density of [428]
population, a provision deleted by a later Parliament. Within
each estate land was to be set aside for the titleholder and for [565]
his *matapule*, but the provision for special holdings for *matapule*
was also later removed.

By 1882, therefore, the basic principles of the present land
tenure system had been established, and major changes in the
law since then have been few. In 1891 the government was made 423
responsible for granting allotments and estate-holders could only 178
receive the rent. This change appears to have been made by
Basil Thomson, who was sent to Tonga by the British Government 565
after the deportation of Baker in 1890, to reduce the power
of the nobles over land (Thomson 1894:230). In 1915, however,
estate-holders gained the right to be consulted before allotments
were granted on their estates by the Minister of Lands.

There have also been changes in the regulations relating to 423
the size of allotments. In an attempt to stimulate agriculture by 178
179

423 178 [179] settling people on their farms, and to encourage movement to more sparsely populated districts, the Land Act of 1927 provided for the grant of twelve and three-eighths acres of agricultural land to men willing to forgo their town allotment. Little came of the provision, however, only twenty-three applications being received up to 1934, when the scheme was enlarged to permit grants of fifteen acres. Although several estates on Tongatapu were laid out in fifteen-acre holdings, population growth has led to all but one being resubdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-acre allotments, and a recent amendment has reduced the area that can be granted under this provision to ten acres.

423 565 178 Finally, there have been some changes in the estates. In 1882 hereditary estates *(tofi'a)* were granted to thirty-six titleholders, thirty of them nobles and six of them *matapule* who, although given estates, were not made nobles. Any land not granted to a noble or *matapule ma'u tofi'a* became the estate of the King, but in 1891 Tupou handed over most of this land to the government (Thomson 1894:231). Two more nobles were created and granted estates by Tupou II and one by Queen Salote. There 423 565 are thus at present several types of estate: Royal estates belonging to the King, Royal Family estates held jointly by the Royal Family, hereditary estates belonging to the nobles and a few *matapule*, and government estates under the direct control of [361] the Minister of Lands. About sixty per cent of the population lives on hereditary estates.

128 Having outlined the development of the system as it exists in law we may now attempt to assess its effectiveness in practice. The following sections will discuss the acquisition and holding of land, the distribution of agricultural land between households and individuals, and the question of individual tenure and its effect on agricultural production.

ACQUIRING AND HOLDING LAND

423 428 [425] [589] [684] The most common and the easiest way to acquire land is through inheritance, but land cannot be willed and the heir to an allotment is determined by precise rules laid down in the Land Act. On the death of a landholder his widow is entitled to a life interest in her husband's town and tax allotments, but she loses this right if she remarries or is found by the Land Court to have committed fornication or adultery. This latter provision is occasionally used but in recent years actions based on it have rarely, if ever, been successful (see Hunter 1963:109-10).

If there is no widow the land passes to the deceased holder's 423
eldest son, or if he is also dead to his eldest son, and if there is 428
no male heir through the eldest son then the land passes to the
next eldest son or his male heir and so on. If there is no heir [562]
through the sons an unmarried daughter may hold the land for
life, or until she marries or is proved in the Land Court to have
committed fornication. Several unmarried daughters may hold
jointly. If there are no daughters the succession passes to the
deceased holder's brothers and their sons, or failing these, to the
brothers of the deceased holder's father and their male heirs. No
person may inherit land if he already holds an allotment of the
same kind as that to which he is entitled as heir, but where the
heir is a son or grandson of the deceased holder and already has
land he may choose between his own allotment and the inherited
allotment. Should there be no heirs the land reverts to the estate-
holder or the government, depending on the type of estate. Only [848]
legitimate sons may inherit, and only in very rare cases is an
allotment divided between two heirs. These rules of inheritance [183]
do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly. For instance,
succession to an allotment cannot now be traced through a
female, and the son of a daughter of a deceased holder has no
claim to the land of his mother's father, although succession to
an hereditary estate can be claimed through females. In practice,
however, where there are no heirs through males the Minister
and estate-holders usually allocate the land to the nearest other
relative. A study of land acquisition in two villages showed that
in one an allotment had passed from a widow to her brother's
son, there being no claimant from her husband's family, while
in the other, six of the forty-eight landholders interviewed had
gained their allotments from their mothers' relatives.

With large families common it is obvious that many men will 423
not be able to inherit land, and for them the only way of obtain- 425
ing an allotment is to acquire one that is vacant. This has not
been easy, however, over the last two or more decades. In the 423
more densely populated parts of Tonga all allotments have been
occupied for some time, while in other districts the survey and 161
subdivision of the land has not kept pace with the growing
number of taxpayers. Up till 1957 only 2,564 eight-and-a-quarter- [162]
acre allotments had been marked out, although there were then
about 12,000 taxpayers, and in the less densely settled areas
where allotments should have been available much of the land
remained in customary holdings of about ten to thirty acres
(similar to those shown in the 1910 map for Niutoua in Figure
1).A

A [See Category 423, p. 109--Analyst.]

● 423 1). Since 1957, however, most of the remaining areas of Tonga
have been subdivided by the Cadastral Survey, and the allocation
of the new allotments will be described later.

423 The process of acquiring a vacant allotment has also been
entangled with the problem of the power and influence of estate-
425 holders. On hereditary estates the titleholder has a statutory
565 right to be consulted before an allotment is registered by the
Minister, and in practice the applicant must have a signed approval
from the estate-holder before applying to the Minister.
Although by law the objections of an estate-holder can be overruled
by the Minister, few villagers would dare complain against
a noble and, even if they did, the Minister apparently does not
force registration if the estate-holder still does not approve. Land
therefore cannot be acquired simply by applying to the Lands
[431] Department. In practice on hereditary estates an applicant approaches
the estate-holder or his representative for permission to
use and register a tax allotment, having prepared the way with
423 gifts of food. If there is land to spare the applicant will probably
be allowed to garden it, but will be told to apply for registration
425 in a year or so. One reason for the delay in approving registration
is to ensure that the applicant works the land and meets
423 his responsibilities to the village. All too often, however, estate-
holders have delayed registration for reasons of power and personal
425 advantage. Since the Emancipation of 1862 the chiefs have
565 lost much of their power but those granted estates have retained
a relatively strong position through their control over the allocation
661 of land. Delaying registration, and threatening to expel
[178] those using unregistered allotments, ensures that those hoping
to get land, or with sons or other close relatives hoping to get
land, will conform to the wishes of the noble and provide food
and other gifts on the appropriate occasions. In some cases even
money has been demanded, and paid, before registration was
approved.

Many estate-holders have therefore been reluctant to see their
estates subdivided and the land fully allocated and registered,
for registration with its security of tenure reduces their effective
423 power over the people. This is probably the major reason why
the survey and allocation of allotments has taken so long, and
it is significant that before 1957 almost the only areas in eastern
Tongatapu that had been subdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-
[425] acre allotments were the government estates.[5] A further reason
is that in the less densely settled areas many of the existing land-
[565] holders have in the past also been opposed to subdivision, for

if a landholder did not have enough sons or other male relatives 423
to take up all the allotments into which his customary holding 425
was divided some of the land would pass out of his family's 565
control.

The last few years, however, have seen a near revolution in 423
land allocation, the stimulus coming from the Royal Family and
the government. In 1957 a New Zealand firm contracted to com- 178
plete the subdivision of the Kingdom into tax allotments and 659
by 1962, when the Cadastral Survey finished, only Niuatoputapu,
Niuafo'ou and some of the smaller volcanic islands remained
unsurveyed. The allocation of the new allotments was unneces- 423
sarily delayed, perhaps for the reasons suggested above, but by
the beginning of 1966 most of the allotments in Tongatapu, and 178
about half of those in Vava'u, had been granted, and it was
hoped to allocate the rest within a year or two.

The allocation of the new allotments has been done village 423
by village, and those with pre-existing customary holdings have
usually been permitted to allocate some or all of the new allot- 425
ments into which their land was subdivided, although subject 565
to the approval of the estate-holder (if on an hereditary estate)
and of the Minister. Most of the new allotments have therefore
gone to the sons and other male relatives of the old landholders,
but some have been left for the estate-holder or Minister, and
sometimes the old landholder, to allocate to non-relatives. In a 423
rough sample of allotments on two hereditary estates on Tonga-
tapu seventy-seven per cent had been granted to relatives of the 425
old holders. Where land was granted to non-relatives some
estate-holders largely chose people who belonged to the village 423
by descent, but others were more willing to allocate land to 425
people who settled in the village in the hope of getting an allot- 621
ment, although this sometimes caused resentment among local
people left without land. In the sample mentioned above twenty-
nine per cent of the allotments in one village had been granted
to newcomers compared with only ten per cent in the other, and
in the latter village probably a higher proportion of the local
people given allotments were boys under sixteen years.

For his tax allotment a Tongan pays an annual rent of eighty 423
cents either to the government or to the estate-holder. On many
hereditary estates, however, the estate-holder does not collect 427
this rent in money, but instead calls for contributions of food [651]
and other materials needed for particular occasions, and these
contributions usually amount to much more than eighty cents
in value in a year.

427

423 Eviction from a registered allotment is rare, and provided a
425 landholder complies with the requirements of the law he has
complete security of tenure, for all cases for eviction must be
heard by the Land Court. Eviction may be for failure to pay
423 rent, for not maintaining the allotment in the average state of
425 cultivation for tax allotments in the district, for abandoning the
allotment or for not planting or tending the 200 coconut palms
686 required by law. In recent years cases for eviction have only been
427 brought on the grounds of failure to pay rent, and as the law
gives landholders the opportunity to pay within three months
of the judgment very few people have actually lost their land.
423 Security of tenure is therefore very much greater under the present
system than it was in the past. Moreover, the Land Court
425 has on several occasions held that registration is not the only
[178] test of ownership (Hunter 1963:104-6 and 121-5), and where a
person occupies unregistered land which has been held by his
family by customary right for some time his position is fairly
strong. It is only those who have been given permission to use
land to which they have no customary right, with the possibility
of registration later, whose tenure is particularly insecure and
who therefore most need to keep the favour of the estate-holder.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

423 The 1966 census, the first in which a question on land ownership
162 was included, revealed that only forty-two per cent of taxpayers
actually had an allotment, with the proportion varying from
thirty-nine per cent in Tongatapu to forty-six per cent in
423 Vava'u and forty-eight per cent in Ha'apai.[6] A more detailed
indication of the distribution of land in particular villages is
592 given in Table 1, which presents the results of village studies
carried out in recent years and shows the percentage of households
and (for six of the villages) of taxpayers, according to the
[178] acreage of land held. It should be noted that these households
differ in composition from those of the past; today an extended
[596] family grouping is only occasionally found, particularly in
Tongatapu, and most households consist of a nuclear family or
[594] a nuclear family and a few unmarried relatives. The figures in
Table 1, together with census data, show that the distribution
of land between both households and taxpayers is distinctly uneven,
and differs markedly from the pattern which should result
423 from the provisions of the Land Act. In only one village did
592 over half the taxpayers have their legal entitlement of eight and

a quarter acres of land. In most villages a large proportion of households and taxpayers had no land at all, and in some a number of taxpayers held more than eight acres. The pattern of land distribution also varied from village to village. 423 592

Table 1: Some Examples of Land Distribution

423 592 162

Village		Percentage distribution of households and taxpayers by acreage of land held*							
		0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	19 and over
Ha'avakatolo	H†	18	9	9	27	16	–	6	15
1962	T‡	45	4	9	22	7	4	5	4
Ha'akame	H	31	–	2	49	2	2	7	7
1962	T	55	–	1	37	3	1	–	3
Nukunuku	H	30	–	1	51	2	1	14	1
1960	T	51	–	1	44	1	–	3	–
Vaini	H	36	–	–	32	–	–	11	21
1962	T	41	–	–	29	–	–	3	7
Niutoua	H	3	–	–	66	–	–	31	–
1962	T	18	–	–	82	–	–	–	–
Ha'ateiho 1957	H	25	–	–	58	–	–	10	7
'Uiha 1952	H	9	10	41	24	9	4	2	1
Ha'afeva	H	43	10	28	12	7	–	–	–
1966	T	61	8	29	2	–	–	–	–

* to the nearest acre
† percentage of households
‡ percentage of taxpayers
Sources: Ha'avakatolo, Ha'akame, Vaini, Niutoua and Ha'afeva, field survey by writer; Nukunuku, field survey by R. G. Crocombe; Ha'ateiho, Nayacakalou 1959:104; 'Uiha, Koch 1955:120-1. The figures for Vaini, Niutoua and Ha'afeva are based on sample surveys.

The major reasons for these variations in land distribution and for the lack of correspondence between law and practice in the holding of land are the uneven distribution of population (an unevenness which does not correspond to variations in agricultural productivity), the incomplete subdivision and allocation of allotments discussed above, and the fact that there are now more taxpayers than allotments, a problem which will be discussed below. 423 182

In areas where population densities are about 500 persons per square mile and over (as in western Tongatapu, around Nuku'alofa, in most of Ha'apai and in south-eastern Vava'u) most holdings have for some time been less than eight acres, and even so there are many more men entitled to land than there are allotments for them to hold. In these districts no attempt [161]

423 182 has been made to increase allotments to the statutory size, because this would have involved the dispossession of many landholders; surveys have therefore simply defined the existing boundaries except where allotments proved to be more than eight and a quarter acres, and most holdings are from three to six acres in size. 423 The typical pattern of land distribution in these areas is shown in the figures for Ha'avakatolo (western Tongatapu) and Ha'afeva and 'Uiha (Ha'apai) in Table 1. [182] In Ha'avakatolo (see Figure 1),A on an hereditary estate, land shortage is eased because some men have allotments on near-by estates. Furthermore, since few allotments in Ha'avakatolo have been registered, there has been nothing to prevent some men from acquiring two or even three, with a total area of over eight acres; the head of one household in 1962, for example, had inherited a registered eight-acre allotment from his father, but also held an unregistered three-acre allotment given to him by the estate-holder, although this is contrary to the intention of the law.

423 166 In Ha'afeva the pattern of land distribution is complicated by out-migration. In 1966 no less than forty of the ninety-one persons who held land on the island (some of whom were widows) had moved either temporarily or permanently to other islands. Their land was left in the care of others, and the pattern of 423 [602] land distribution which resulted is shown in Table 2. Land was usually left in the care of relatives, not necessarily those without land of their own. Thus despite the fact that at the beginning of 1966 there were more holdings on Ha'afeva than there were households, nearly twenty per cent of the households still did not have control over an allotment. 423 184 To what extent Ha'afeva is typical of other islands in Ha'apai is difficult to determine. The Governor of Ha'apai estimated in 1964 that about fifteen per cent of tax allotments in the group were held by non-residents (Tonga 1964:47), but several informants indicated that the pattern on Ha'afeva was similar to that on several other islands in the group.

423 592

Table 2: Land Distribution, Ha'afeva, 1966*

	Percentage distribution of households by acreage of land held or looked after						
	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16 and over
Land held	43	10	28	12	7	–	–
Total land held or looked after	19	5	33	27	12	2	2

* Based on a sample of approximately half the households in the village

A[See Category 423, p. 109—Analyst.]

In areas of more moderate population density (about 300-400 423
persons per square mile) the pattern of land distribution on 182
estates which have been fully subdivided is shown in the figures [161]
for Ha'akame, Nukunuku and Ha'ateiho.^A Here most households
have either eight acres or no land at all, although in Ha'akame
several taxpayers hold twelve-acre allotments and a block of
thirty-three acres is held as a lease by the only man of rank in
the village. Where the population density falls to about 200 [161]
persons per square mile or less the pattern on subdivided estates
is represented by the figures for Niutoua in eastern Tongatapu
(see Table 1 and Figure 1),^ where only three per cent of the
households in 1962 were without land. Yet even there about
eighteen per cent of the taxpayers had no land, because one-third
of the registered allotments on the estate were held by people
who lived in other settlements, mostly either in Nuku'alofa or
in other villages in eastern Tongatapu. Where subdivision and
allocation of allotments is not complete the proportion of taxpayers
and households without land is very much higher, as is
shown in the figures for Vaini in central Tongatapu, where in
1962 about one-half of the estate was still in customary holdings.
The recent allocation of allotments has significantly altered the
pattern of land distribution on this estate, but has had little or
no effect on the other villages discussed above.

The significance of this unequal distribution of land between 423
individuals and households needs to be carefully assessed, for 425
the borrowing of land from relatives, friends or estate-holders is
common. It is fairly easy to obtain the use of land for growing [241]
short-term and largely subsistence food crops, even in densely
settled areas, although many men claim that it has become more
difficult in recent years. Where land is borrowed from a relative [427]
often no direct return is made, but when borrowing from others [602]
it is customary to give part of the crop, such as a basket of yams,
to the landholder.

Obtaining the use of land for cash cropping is more difficult, 423
and although it would be hard to find a family short of food 425
simply because it could not borrow enough land for gardening, 241
households without land tend to have significantly lower cash
incomes than households with land. Borrowing for cash cropping [434]
particularly has become more difficult over the last two years, [178]
for with the improved market for bananas landholders have
expanded their own plantings and are less willing to lend their
land to others, especially for more than one or two years. In 423
Tongatapu today it is not unusual to find people having to pay 427
for the use of land for cash cropping, although renting without 241

^A [See Category 423, pp. 109, 117--Analyst.]

423 Cabinet approval is illegal, and Cabinet approval is not given
427 for land renting between Tongans. In fact, some of the more
241 enterprising and large-scale banana growers and market gardeners,
who can afford to pay rent and to contribute food crops
and pigs to the estate-holder or landholder, have little difficulty
in obtaining the use of land, though their tenure is insecure and
423 unprotected by law. Land cannot be borrowed for planting
coconuts, a long-term cash crop, and palms on an allotment are
425 the property of the landholder, regardless of who planted them.
245 A common practice for those without land, therefore, is to
obtain permission to collect one or two cart loads of coconuts
for copra making from the allotment of a relative or close friend,
and for this no return is given. Another arrangement, especially
between non-relatives and where the landholder lives elsewhere,
is for the cash received for the copra to be shared half and half.
434 Despite these arrangements a survey undertaken in four villages
in Tongatapu showed that in 1961 the *per capita* cash crop
[24] income of households with no land ($T18.40) was only half that
of households with eight acres (Maude 1965:155-6). Yet only a
few of the landless men interviewed throughout Tonga seemed
to experience hardship from land shortage; most considered their
income sufficient for essential needs and some with energy and
enterprise had higher cash incomes than many men with their
own allotments. A few men in Ha'apai and Nuku'alofa with
large families to support, however, did appear to feel under
pressure.

423 In theory the Tongan system should have encouraged the
movement of people from areas of land shortage to the more
166 sparsely populated districts, for although an estate-holder may
425 refuse a person from another locality permission to reside upon
his estate, he cannot prevent such a person holding an allotment
there, unless the Land Court rules against the grant. Some migration
to obtain land has taken place over the last few decades,
mainly from Ha'apai to central and eastern Tongatapu, but for
reasons already mentioned it has not been easy to obtain land
in the areas where allotments should have been available.
Furthermore, acquiring land on an hereditary estate has usually
been more difficult for a stranger to a village than for a local
man, for the responsibility of an estate-holder towards his own
people does not necessarily extend to others, and many people
feel that the lands of an estate should be reserved for the people
who traditionally belong there. Consequently in all the villages
for which figures are available the proportion of men without

land is much higher among in-migrants than among those who 423
belong there by birth (Maude 1965:118-19, Nayacakalou 1959:111), 166
and the difficulty and uncertainty of obtaining an allotment has 425
probably deterred migration from the densely settled areas. At
the same time there has not been much opportunity for those
who have allotments in these areas, but who have moved elsewhere,
to exchange their old holdings for new ones (an exchange
which is provided for in the Land Act) and so make land available
for others, as should have happened in the case of Ha'afeva
discussed earlier.

The main direction of migration within Tonga in recent years, 166
moreover, has been towards Nuku'alofa and other parts of Tongatapu 369
where the opportunities for earning money and the better
educational facilities have been more important attractions than 423
the possibility of obtaining land. People have been much less interested in moving to 'Eua and to western Vava'u, where land has been the only attraction (Maude 1965:81-6, Walsh 1964b: 188). Thus internal migration has only partly led to a better distribution of land; it has had only a small effect on the tenure problems of the densely settled areas, and among the rapidly-growing population of Nuku'alofa a large proportion of households are landless. In a sample survey of households in the town Walsh (1964b:63) found that only forty-nine per cent had a tax allotment on Tongatapu, sometimes miles from the town, while another six per cent had land elsewhere in Tonga. In the 1966 census only thirty-three per cent of taxpayers in Nuku'alofa stated that they had a tax allotment.

LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The Tongan land tenure system also needs to be assessed in 121
terms of the way in which land is used. Has this system, with its individual title to land and security of tenure, proved a satisfactory basis for cash cropping, and has it fostered the development of independent small holders free of some of the problems found with more traditional systems of land tenure in other parts of the South Pacific?

Cash cropping in Tonga has been largely confined to coconuts 423
and bananas, but there is no indication that land tenure has 182
been a factor in the non-acceptance of other crops. The early 178
stages in the development of the present tenure system were
apparently marked by an increase in cash cropping, for Rutherford 245
(1966:58-9) quotes the opinion of Maudslay that the 1862 [241]

423 code, by increasing the commoners' security of tenure, greatly
182 stimulated the planting of coconuts. From 1887 onwards the
178 trend in copra production can be followed from the export
statistics. Between 1887 and 1912 the mean annual *per capita*
245 export of copra increased from 0.27 tons (1887-90) to 0.54 tons
[439] (1908-12), a level which was maintained, apart from the period
affected by the hurricanes of 1912 and 1913 and by the First
[433] World War, until 1930. The writer has found no evidence, however, to show whether this increase was a result of the 1882 revision of the land law.[7]

423 In recent years, on the other hand, the incomplete subdivision
and allocation of allotments has restricted further planting of
245 coconuts, and is one reason for the present low level of *per
[182] capita* copra production. Many parts of central and eastern
Tongatapu, and of 'Eua and Vava'u, are only sparsely planted
[433] in palms, and in central and eastern Tongatapu people with large customary holdings have tended to plant only part of their land, while men who have moved to these districts and been given a plot to garden have not wished to plant coconuts until their tenure is secure. On several Tongatapu estates visited during field-work, where the land had been subdivided before the recent survey, the systematic planting of coconuts had only begun after the subdivision and allocation of allotments. In
423 eastern Tongatapu in 1956 the mean *per capita* production of
245 copra was 0.48 tons on estates in which most or all of the land
433 had been subdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-acre allotments,
and 0.39 tons on estates in which most of the land remained in larger customary holdings, although these means are unfortunately based on too few villages for the difference to be statistically significant. The recent allocation of allotments in Tongatapu and elsewhere (together with the Coconut Replanting Scheme which began in 1965) should result in a marked increase in the area planted in palms, and in the opinion of some Tongans the allocation has already facilitated the recent expansion in banana planting by providing more growers with a secure tenure. There are therefore grounds for concluding that when properly applied the land tenure system does provide a good basis for agricultural development.

423 One limitation of the Tongan system, however, is its lack of
flexibility. For a variety of reasons many men find eight and a
425 quarter acres insufficient, but because of the shortage of land it
182 is now difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the ten or twelve
acre allotments provided for in the law, and there is no un-

423
allocated land left for leasing. Consequently land borrowing by 425
those who already have allotments of their own is common, and 182
land use by no means coincides with the tenure of land. Yet
borrowing is not always a satisfactory solution, for the borrower
can seldom obtain land except for a short period and for short-
term crops. While the more enterprising therefore tend to be [311]
hampered by the land tenure system, the lazy are protected, for
at present the government makes no attempt to enforce the provisions in the Land Act requiring landholders to cultivate their allotments and plant coconuts

Land borrowing may also restrict the lender's control over the 425
use of his holding for, despite individual tenure, requests from 571
close relatives and friends for the temporary use of land are 602
difficult to refuse, and such requests are not necessarily made [423]
only to those who have land to spare. Social obligations of this
nature also restrict the independence of the farmer in other ways
familiar to the student of the South Pacific. For instance, rela- [241]
tives and friends may request a load of coconuts, a few baskets
of tubers, or cash, and consequently men trying to increase production find their efforts hampered. Such obligations continue [178]
to be honoured partly because of tradition, sentiment and the
prestige gained by the giver, but also because they still fulfil [554]
their essential function of ensuring the security of the individual [182]
and his family. Marriages and funerals also involve obligations
of kinship and friendship. A study of the literature on Western 571
Samoa and Fiji, and the comments of Tongans who have lived
in Samoa and Samoans who have lived in Tonga, suggest that 602
the Tongan farmer may be able to achieve a slightly greater 423
degree of independence, without having to contract out of his 182
society, than is the case in the neighbouring territories, and for 241
this the system of landholding is probably largely responsible.
At the same time, however, individual tenure in Tonga has not [171]
produced fully independent farmers, for social obligations still restrict the individual's control over his land, his time and his produce.

SOME BENEFITS OF THE SYSTEM

Although various factors have thus restricted the effectiveness of 423
the Tongan land tenure system both as a method of land alloca-
tion and as a basis for land use, it has many good points. It has 182
provided many men with secure, lifetime, individual leaseholds which can be passed on to their descendants; it has enabled Tonga to avoid the problems of fragmentation, subdivision and

423 multiple ownership found elsewhere; and it has not tied areas
182 of land to particular social groups. It has prevented land from
[427] passing into foreign ownership and has limited the area taken
up in foreign-held leases, and at the same time has prevented
[565] the dispossession of the commoners and the over-concentration
of land rights in the hands of the chiefs.[8] Tonga now also has
423 a nearly complete survey of all agricultural holdings, as well as
a reasonably efficient records system for land grants, transfers
and rent payments.

[178] Furthermore, many of the weaknesses discussed in previous
sections have resulted not so much from the Land Act itself but
from its inadequate application, and in the past few years a great
deal has at last been done to ensure a better distribution of land.
423 A final strong argument in favour of the system is the remarkably small number of disputes. During the five-year period 1952-6
691 a total of 178 cases came before the Land Court, but 141 of
these were over the non-payment of rent; there were only twenty-three cases involving a disputed claim to a tax or town allotment,
the great majority of which were won by the defendant, and
none involving a dispute over an allotment boundary.

THE FUTURE

000 Some changes in the basic principles of the land tenure system,
however, will be essential if it is to meet the problems raised
[423] by a rapidly-growing population. The total number of tax allotments so far marked out is about 12,140 if every two allotments
[162] of less than four acres are counted as one (Maude 1965:166, 181),
yet there are already about 20,000 males aged sixteen and over
legally entitled to land, and some of the present allotments are
held by widows or (as with some holdings recently allocated) by
boys under sixteen. By 1980 the number of taxpayers entitled
to land is likely to be about 33,000, nearly treble the number
of existing allotments.[9]

In assessing the changes that might be made, two points need
to be kept in mind. One is the need to avoid potentially serious
social, economic and perhaps political problems that would result
from a large proportion of the male population being without
423 land and without any hope of acquiring land. Already at least
eighty-four per cent of taxpayers in the age group 20-24 are
162 without a tax allotment, while in the age groups 25-29 and 30-34
the corresponding proportions are seventy-five per cent and sixty-
000 three per cent respectively. The opportunities for developing

NOTES

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who do not, of course, share any responsibility for the opinions expressed
here.

[2] The correct term for this group in pre-contact Tonga is uncertain and 175
today Tongans use the word *famili*, from English, or *matakali*, which is
of Fijian origin. The term *fa'ahinga* is used by Latukefu (1967). 613

[3] The *matapule* are the chief's attendants and spokesmen; *foha* and *tehina* [565]
are minor titles under a chief.

[4] The crosses mark allotments held by persons not belonging to the same 423
fa'ahinga as the rest of the landholders in that area.

[5] On a government estate the process of obtaining land has generally been [613]
less difficult, but in recent years most of these estates, especially in Tonga- [425]
tapu, have had few vacant allotments.

[6] These figures are from the preliminary results of the 1966 census, by 113
courtesy of the Census Commissioner, Mr N. Fiefia.

[7] It may be noted here that there are several references to the planting of 423
coconuts having stopped in the first decade of this century (because mal- 182
administration of land matters by the King and the estate-holders made 178
people feel insecure in their tenure), which suggests that previously plant-
ing had been common. On the other hand, the registration of allotments 245
does not appear to have begun until 1898, and registration on a significant
scale did not begin until about 1915.

[8] But note that by law an estate-holder may reserve part of his estate for 423
himself and the successors to his title and, since the regulation provided 182
for in the Land Act to determine the area of this *'api fakatofi'a* has never 427
been made, some retain personal holdings of up to 200 or 300 acres,
although part of this land is being used by villagers and others. 565

[9] From the preliminary results of the 1966 census. 000

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The foundation of the reforms which transformed the old order lay in the 423
land tenure system initiated by Tupou I, and which has remained largely [178]
unchanged since 1891. The major feature of this system is the granting and
inheritance of land solely on an individual basis. Every Tongan male, aged 16 [884]
and over (at 16, Tongan males legally become taxpayers), is entitled to not
more than 8½ acres of bush land, called a tax allotment, and a small town
allotment on which to build a house. The hereditary tax and town allotments [428]
pass from father to eldest son. Legally defined annual rents or tax allotments
to be paid either to the government or noble landlords are nominal, and these 423
are often neither collected nor paid by the small-holder. No land in Tonga 427
can be sold to foreigners, but leasing is permitted under strict government
control. This individualized land tenure system served to transfer the prerogative 423
of land distribution from local chiefs and lineage heads of local descent groups 565
in the old order to the monarchical government. 178

Overlaying this prospective patch-work division of Tongan society into
family farms were the grants of landed estates or *tofi'a* to selected hereditary 423
chiefly lines of the old order, constituted as a nobility. In contrast, the majority 565
of pre-Tupou chiefs still informally pass on their titles, which now have only 641
ceremonial or ritual significance, but they have effectively been reduced to the [428]
same legal and social status as all other small-holding farmers. [178]

From the end of Tupou I's reign to the present, nobles as landlords have
been legally restrained in their control of both the people and the lands of 565
their estates. They cannot arbitrarily control the rents, services, or tenure 427
of their small-holding tenants. They can hold undistributed land on their 423
estates for themselves and can select holders in the distribution of unallocated [178]
land, but even this latter prerogative is mediated by the final approval of the
Minister of Lands. Given land shortage, the import of the noble's personal 423
distribution of available holdings is diminishing, but also as a result, this prerogative 565
has been the focus for much of the traditional and current abuse of the nobility's [178]
rights in control of its estates (in the form of receiving bribes and services
outside the law). Land which is not divided into hereditary noble *tofi'a* is [661]
either Crown estates or the personal estates of the King and Royal Family.

Land practice has never scrupulously followed the definition of the legal 423
provisions, either when land was more plentiful or now that land is scarce. 183
For instance, several noble landlords have thus far enjoyed considerable [565]
traditional prestige among the people of their estates which has given them
more actual control of their estates than the law grants them. Also, the
distribution and management of individual holdings has in general occurred
in the context of broader kin networks and decision-making processes than
might be expected from the ideal distribution and control of land in independent
nuclear family units, as suggested by the legal definition of land tenure (see
Marcus, 1975a). Nonetheless, the legal provisions of land tenure have shaped 423
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423 and modified the directions of change in patterns of land-holding and
[178 consequently in social structure. As such, the land at the very least has
[554 served as the ideological basis of male social status and respectability in the
[641] new order and as the social foundation for the broader definition of individual
rights in the Tongan Constitution.

565 Impressions of Europeans concerning contemporary Tongan society in-
evitably focus on the noble-commoner division as defining the major lines
565 of class in the monarchy. Undoubtedly, the decision to preserve a limited
number of major traditional chiefs in the form of western-styled noble landlords
177 in the nineteenth century was partially motivated by a need to conform to
648 European views of what the basis of a modern constitutional monarchy should
be, since it appears that the independence of Tonga at the time was dependent
on a self-transformation which courted Western views of 'civilized' institutions.
565 However, Tongans themselves have never entirely accustomed themselves to
the view that the *kau nopele* ('the noble title-holders') alone encompass the
hou'eiki (broadly, chiefs and aristocrats) of modern Tonga. The modern
nobility is not isomorphic with the blood aristocrats of Tonga. In fact, several
of the nobles, although formally recognized or equated as *hou'eiki* by law,
are not considered aristocrats by Tongans in general or by the residents of the
estates of these nobles in particular. The use of the concept *'eiki,* the
traditional 'cover' term denoting chiefly status, has been widely expanded in
modern Tonga to apply to a great number of contexts beyond its traditional
meanings (for example, ministerial posts, some held by commoners, are
referred to as *'eiki minisitā*).

[114] Elizabeth Spillius, in her excellent intensive work at the court of the
late Queen Sālote (1960), defined the traditional principles of Tongan *'eiki*
565 classification. In pre-contact times, the concept of *sino'i 'eiki* (literally, 'chiefly
body') meant broadly 'aristocrat by blood' and had both loose and restricted
175 meanings. The *'eiki* were strictly the Tu'i Tonga and his major wife and
643 children, while loosely the term applied to all people who could trace a fairly
close blood connection with the Tu'i Tonga. Furthermore, aside from this
565 loose and restricted meaning of *'eiki,* which definitely classed certain individuals
175 at the apex of society as either *'eiki* or not, the term had completely contextual
554 application where a man might be called *'eiki* in his own village, but when
he was in the presence of outsiders of higher rank he might be referred to
by a demeaning term such as *motu'a* ('old one'). The English word chief
565 connotes authority over territory and a group of subjects, but there is no
175 exact Tongan linguistic equivalent. There were chiefs without title and without
'eiki blood, and they would be referred to, depending on occasion, as *tauhi
fonua* ('keepers of the land') or *ivilahi* ('men of personal skill and power').
Some chiefs held titles and some not, some were blood *'eiki* (*sino'i 'eiki*) and
565 some not. With the establishment of the nobility, *'eiki* status in a legal or
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succession can be and usually is explained by a contextual factor such as the 565
lack of ability, the physical absence, the immaturity, or simply the dislike 175
among suporting chiefs of the appropriate, eldest-son heir. However, some 611
informants explained that chiefly authority should pass between brothers because 428
of *toto mafana* ('warm blood'): the younger brother shares identical chiefly
status as the deceased chief because they had the same mother, but the chief's [554]
eldest son has a different chiefly status, whether higher or lower, than his
father, because he had a different mother than the latter.[8] Thus, the chiefly
position should properly pass through the surviving brothers until they are
exhausted before it eventually returns to the senior male line. However valid 565
or accurate this current indigenous explanation of former succession beliefs 178
may be, the issue of priority between horizontal succession through brothers 611
and vertical succession through sons has survived as a continuing structural 428
tension, despite strict, legal definition of succession.

The Tu'i Tonga formally installed the major chiefly titles of the old order, 175
and the holders of the latter in turn installed titles subordinate to themselves. 565
Formal installation of subordinate titles occurred in the context of a kava 643
ceremony, headed by the appointing chief. An appointee would be served
kava under his new title after which he would present a large tribute of food, 175
called *pongipongi hingoa* ('presentation in honor of entitlement') to the 565
appointing chief. With the serving of kava and the presentation of food, the 276
new title-holder was considered formally and permanently installed in his title.
Conversely, at the installation of a king, the appointee would sit at the head 431
of his own kava ceremony and be presented with food tribute by his supporting [643]
chiefs. Although succession to noble titles is now legally defined, the monarch [178]
continues to install the nobility in the customary manner.

The law of succession to hereditary titles and lands is included both as 641
a clause in the Constitution (Clause 111) and in more detailed statutes of the 428
Land Act (Chapter 63, Clauses 37-42, *Law of Tonga*, 1967). Although there 423
are separate sets of clauses referring to the devolution of hereditary estates and
tax allotments in the Land Act, both sets are similar in content and formulation. 565
This similarity suggests an identity between special landholding in the form of 671

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[8] Although chiefly position, either as title or leadership, typically passed patrilineally in the traditional order, an individual's chiefly rank was a composite weighting of his father's chiefly rank with his mother's. In this weighting, the status or rank of one's mother carried more prestige, connoting that one had personally the chiefly blood of one's mother (and her chiefly group of origin), but possessed the chiefly position of one's father. I could obtain no clear indigenous explanations for this distinctive weighting or association of the chiefly child with its mother. Nonetheless, the ideal is for the child to be well-balanced, i.e., for both of its parents to be of chiefly status. A male child with only one chiefly parent (in most situations, a chiefly father and a commoner mother) is still considered chiefly, but is sometimes ridiculed as *ngesi taha* ('half-shelled'). Even though formal legal definition of patrilineal succession to noble titles to some extent has subdued the importance of the rank of the mother in influencing the rank of the child, several modern nobles are 'half-shelled' and as such, are generally viewed as ordinary or common persons, but for their possession of titles.

641 hereditary estates and routine landholding in the form of hereditary tax allotments.
428 The noble is privileged to hold and pass on large estates, but this
423 privilege is in fact of the same sort, albeit of a different scale, that commoners
565 enjoy in the devolution of their much smaller estates, the tax allotments. In
671 this sense, landholding under the law in land-scarce Tonga at whatever level,
defines privilege, which is revealed in a comparison of the similarities, if not
redundancy, of succession statutes applied to estates (of landed nobles) and tax
allotments (of landed commoners) alike.

641 The major features of the succession to hereditary lands and titles as
stated in Clause 111 of the Constitution and the statutes of the Land Act are:
428 the heir must have been born in wedlock (of a formal Christian marriage). He
423 should be the eldest male child; failing him, then any other male child (and
565 his descendants) by seniority of age; failing him, then any female child (and
her descendants) by seniority of age. Failing an heir in the direct line of
671 succession, the title and lands revert to the line of brothers of the previous
611 holder and their descendants in order of seniority. Failing a male heir in the
line of brothers, succession proceeds through the lines of sisters.

A special stipulation pertaining to hereditary estates is that "should a
[562] female be next in succession to the title of a noble or of an hereditary chief
the next male heir shall inherit the title and estates. But should such female
afterwards have a legitimate issue the title and estates shall revert to the male
issue of the female upon the death of the male in possession of the estate . . ."
(Clause 111). Should there be no legitimate heirs to an hereditary title and
estates, according to the above rules, they revert to the King for reappointment
at his prerogative. No person can succeed who is insane or has been convicted
of a felony since the granting of the Constitution. Nor can any person who
is not of Tongan nationality succeed to land or titles.

641 There is a statute (Clause 40) which provides for the appointment of a
429 Trustee by the monarch to represent and manage an hereditary title and estates
which are vacant, but for which there is an heir who is still a minor (under
423 21 years). Trusteeship was an ambiguous issue in early succession cases because
565 it was often not clear whether the intent of a deceased monarch (Tupou I or
671 Tupou II) was that a person holding a title should succeed to it instead of the
heir or whether he was a mere representative in the heir's minority. Such a
[643] situation was especially ambiguous when the appointee and supposed trustee was
[884] a younger brother of the previous holder, had been installed in the customary
manner by the appointing monarch, and used the title and lands as if he were
641 the proper title-holder (e.g., by attending parliament). Of course, the law was
428 unambiguous as long as there was in fact an eldest male child heir of the
423 previous holder. Rather, the ambiguity resided among the parties in dispute and
565 was based on a surviving attitude, regardless of the law, that younger brother
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succession was just as appropriate and permanent as eldest son succession, 428
manifesting the pre-Constitutional tension between the two alternative kin 423
positions that were both common successors to titles of deceased holders. 565

Through a set of ordered priorities the succession law defines a discrete 671
and exclusive kin position to hold hereditary lands and titled honour associated
with them. This formalization of customary succession had important effects on 565
relationships within the kin groups of noble title-holders. The exclusive
definition of the nobility in terms of individuals created a basic ambiguity and 641
tension within modern noble families regarding the limits of the distribution 428
of noble titles as a resource among kinsmen both in terms of chiefly honour and 178
wealth. Presumably, in pre-Constitutional Tonga, titles were held by individuals 602
according to customary rules of succession similar to the present laws, but it 671
was chiefly honour and leadership responsibility, not primarily land as such,
that was the 'thing' held and transmitted. Furthermore, chiefly honour was [423]
clearly a kin group resource, merely focussed or represented in the title. The
final arbiter of succession, given customary patrilineal practice, was some [611]
process of decision-making among the kin group members. The institution of
strict legal procedures governing succession removed the final determination of
succession from within the chiefly kindred as well as made problematic the
extent to which noble status could be claimed beyond the legally determined
title-holder and his heir.

NOBLE TITLE SUCCESSION DISPUTES

The Context and Conditions of Succession Disputes

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In line with the positive, if not enthusiastic, moves toward modernization, 178
embodied in the nineteenth-century reforms, Tongan law makes no mention of or 565
allowance for customary practices (except in one case which will be discussed
below). In a sense, law as the vehicle of transformation was intended to be a
virtual replacement for customary practices. Thus surviving customary practice
has a shadowy existence outside the law without explicit indications as to
what the orientation of law toward surviving custom should be. The status of 671
Tongan law in relation to custom is in marked contrast, for example, to the
situation in neighbouring Western Samoa. There, the orientation of law to 171
custom, especially chiefly custom, is explicit: custom is neither defined nor 565
codified but is is clearly provided for as the standard governing certain practices.
For example, the Land and Titles Court in Western Samoa is a constitutionally
sanctioned but customary institution through which disputes to chiefly titles
and lands (the *matai* system) are adjudicated according to interpretation of
uncodified customary practice.

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In Tonga, disputes concerning lands and titles are the area of law most 423
likely to raise issues of customary practice. However, since the present land 428

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671 system was introduced with the Tupou dynasty, any custom regarding it
423 (especially with regard to the acquisition and inheritance of ordinary tax allotments)
428 must refer to what the law has come to mean in various parts of Tonga
565 since its introduction — that is, how the law has been made custom in practice
691 through the post-Constitutional years. Only in the case of hereditary title
succession disputes among the nobility, the focus of the surviving chiefly
tradition, do customary definition and practice become issues. Yet, because the
formal succession law precludes explicit consideration of pre- or post-Constitutional
customary practice, such issues have only rarely surfaced in the course
of litigation, but instead have been manifested in the backgrounds of the formally
disputed cases.

692 Before the 1920's, there was no effective legal machinery for the regulation
of the application of the succession law. The judiciary had consisted of a
[671] Supreme Court presided over by a Chief Justice (in the twentieth century, an
office held by expatriates) and district Magistrate Courts, presided over by
indigenously appointed Police Magistrates. Under the laws of 1903, the
645 Minister of Lands, subject to appeal to Privy Council, was given power to hear
692 all disputes affecting land. Under the Constitution, the Chief Justice was a
member of Privy Council, but in 1942, this office was omitted from the Privy
Council through a constitutional amendment. A temporary Land Commission
698 was established in 1917 to deal with disputes and claims affecting lands, but
was replaced by a formal Land Court in 1921. The Land Court consists of
698 the Land Court Judge who sits with an Assessor, both appointed by and holding
693 office at the pleasure of the monarch and Privy Council. The duty of the
Assessor, usually a noble title-holder and/or a recognized expert on tradition,
is to advise the Judge on Tongan custom, but he has no voice in the decisions
[563] of the Court. The Land Court Judge has always been a European, serving
within the Tongan bureaucracy (in the past, sometimes a Secretary to
Government, but at present, the Chief Justice or Crown Prosecutor presides).

643 Before the institution of the Land Court (that is, during the reigns of
698 Tupou I and II), then, there was no formal judicial check on the monarch's
565 adherence to the succession law in his appointments of hereditary title-holders.
428 The present law explicitly gives the Land Court jurisdiction over hereditary
title succession disputes (Clause 127b of the Land Act, Chapter 63, *Law of*
[671] *Tonga*, 1967). When the Court began to consider the first title cases soon after
its formation, Queen Sālote informally challenged the right of the judiciary in the
form of the Land Court to consider the appointment of the title-holders, which
698 she apparently considered to be the monarch's prerogative alone. This challenge
failed and the Land Court has had continuing jurisdiction over disputed claims
565 to hereditary titles under the category of a claim "affecting any land or any
423 interest in land". The decision of the Land Court Judge is subject to appeal
428 to the Privy Council for final adjudication.
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themselves in informal competition with these individuals for the exercise of 428
leadership within the narrow chiefly family and sometimes for control of 602
chiefly authority over the estates associated with the title. [554]

The cases that have occurred within a narrow range of relationship are [596]
not characterized by sharp persisting factionalism, but rather by a short-lived [626]
confrontation, after which any further competition dissolves into or continues
at a more informal, subtle level (publicly articulated only in casual rumour
and gossip), within the immediate extended family of the title-holder.

An overall assessment from the three types of cases, based on kin 565
relatedness, is that although the role of the lawyer has been crucial in arguing 428
cases and occasionally in motivating them, the appearance of succession cases 602
is more significantly related to the internal reorganization of chiefly kin groups, 691
generally through the levelling reforms of the nineteenth century (in the 178
creation of discrete, economically self-sufficient nuclear family units and 694
specifically through the structure and implementation of the legal definition of
the nobility. Although competition for chiefly status is clearly evident among 565
kin group members, the continuing overt bitterness between the winners and 428
losers is remarkably short-lived after a court confrontation and resolution in all 578
three categories of succession cases.[16] 602

In contrast to this characteristic, apparent forgiveness among parties in 565
dispute over succession to titles and estates is the long persisting open bitterness 423
that follows disputes between two title-holding lines over a piece of land, 602
claimed as part of their respective estates (see Hunter, 1963, for reports of 428
such cases). Perhaps the difference is that there is nothing to be gained and 578
much to be lost by persistently and openly bemoaning a claim to a title that
has been lost, but that a loss of a piece of land, traditionally associated with
one title, to another title line is a serious affront to the honour of the losing title
and can be a considerable drain on the resources of the holding line.

Although a good deal of ill-feeling may persist in a line that has lost a 565
title or claim, it is a disadvantageous strategy to voice it or let it surface. Not 428
only would one be accused of blatantly disrupting peace (*melino*) in the kindred 602
(which is an explicit value in Tongan kinship, and disruption of which is the 578
basis of criticism to which a person is already vulnerable if he has precipitated 554

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[16] Although the Vakalā cases were perhaps the bitterest of succession disputes as well as the manifestly longest lived, reoccurring as litigation twice in successive generations, the present relations between the loser, Z, and the title-holder, D, are not at all strained or embarrassed when they meet on social occasions. It is probably true, however, that they avoid each other as much as possible. Likewise, while I was living in Kaila'ā's household, the son of the man whom Kaila'ā defeated to gain his title came to visit and live within Kaila'ā's home for several weeks. The occurrence of a succession dispute between Kaila'ā and the visitor's father had no apparent influence on their present relations. In fact, the visitor was quite willing to discuss the succession dispute in the presence of the noble without any sense of embarrassment or bitterness. The conflict was seen in retrospect as an impersonal, ephemeral matter.

565
428 litigation and thus confrontation), but also a loser might be dependent on the
602 good will of the winner of a dispute in order to enjoy residual claims to
578 association with chiefly status or even to share in resources that the title-holder
[554] controls.[17] Whatever personal feelings might be, it is advantageous in terms
of prestige for both sides to act conciliatory, if not to ignore, their previous
confrontation in order to make the whole legal process look as impersonal as
possible after the fact. But given the basic importance of the family unit in
modern Tonga, the competition for status and resources among family components
of a chiefly kindred continues by other, more subtle processes of gossip
[691] and situational oneupsmanship. Although court litigation is an embarrassing,
ideologically unacceptable aberration of what intra-kin group relations should
be, it is still a striking representation of the ongoing competition which is
characteristic of modern gentry title-holding kin groups as well as family
relations within most commoner kin groups.

The Status of the Nobility in Contemporary Tongan Society

565 One might assume that the outcomes of specific succession disputes them-
554 selves could lower the formal esteem in which some nobles are generally held,
428 but this is not so. An individual who wins a title is given the same formal
respects as the previous holder who has lost it, but these are the respects vested
in a noble title-holding office, as opposed to a title-holder himself. As mentioned,
[643] the Queen offset the outcomes of succession disputes by continuing to favour
those whom she considered of the most appropriate holding lines, even if they
[641] had lost in litigation. Furthermore, the succession disputes have been almost
wholly an affair of the gentry nobility. There was unusually great public
interest in the one aristocratic title case, Kalaniuvalu. As it turned out, the
[643] aristocratic holding line retained the title. Thus, legally disputed title succession
never threatened, except once, to alter the status of an aristocratic title, nor did
those, respected for aristocratic connections through marriage or who enjoyed
the favour of the monarch, lose such respect or favour if they lost a title.

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[423] [17] At the time of the second Vakalā case (1957-1960), the Queen's appointee D tried to pressure his opponent Z and his family by threatening to repossess the tax allotments of Z's brother and uncle, which had not yet been formally registered under the law. Z's attorney got an injunction to stop such seizures. After the Privy Council decision against Z, the nastiness that had characterized the relations of the contesting parties must have overtly subsided into some form of mutual conciliation, since the lands held by members of Z's family and threatened with repossession during the dispute are still held by them; their tenure within Z's family group is apparently secure (although the holdings are still not formally and legally registered). Overt acceptance of and submission to D's position was the price paid by Z and his family for continued, untroubled holding of their family lands as ordinary commoners, while such submission was the advantage gained by D in his conciliatory attitude. Given current land scarcity, Z and his brothers are relatively well-off as land-holders in Motu, the estate of Vakalā, because they control three tax allotments. This is in contrast to their relatively low social standing in the community: Z in particular is without chiefly status or reputation, has no wife, children, or stable residence, and is generally denigrated for his occasional displays of 'uppity' behaviour.

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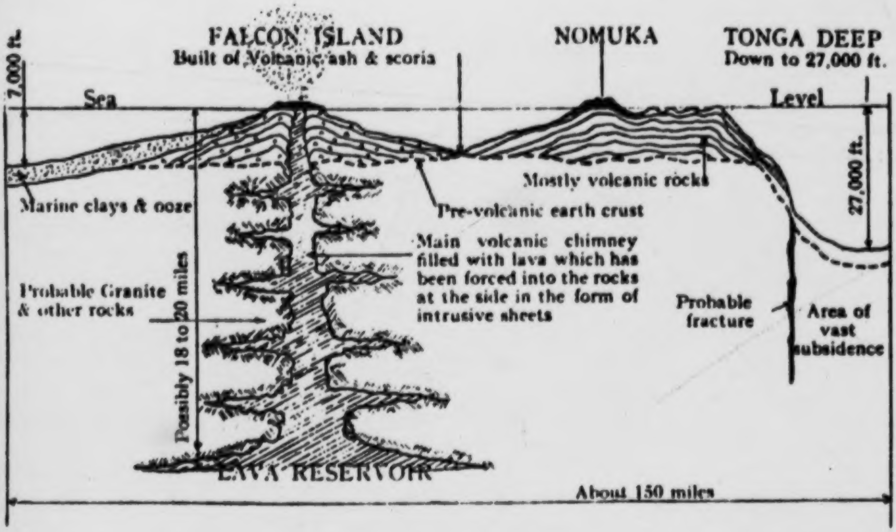
FALCON ISLAND
Built of Volcanic ash & scoria
NOMUKA
TONGA DEEP
Down to 27,000 ft.
7,000 ft.
Sea
Level
27,000 ft.
Marine clays & ooze
Mostly volcanic rocks
Pre-volcanic earth crust
Main volcanic chimney filled with lava which has been forced into the rocks at the side in the form of intrusive sheets
Probable Granite & other rocks
Possibly 18 to 20 miles
Probable fracture
Area of vast subsidence
LAVA RESERVOIR
About 150 miles

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FALCON ISLAND.

ALTERNATELY AN ISLAND AND A SHOAL
IN THE TONGA OR FRIENDLY ISLANDS GROUP.

Theoretical diagram after T. W. EDGEWORTH DAVID, K.B.E., F.R.S.

(4) FALCON ISLAND (Fonua Fo'ou). This "Jack-in-the-box Island" has erupted and disappeared several times within living memory, leaving only a reef or shoal. The Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781, and the Frenchman, La Perouse, in 1787, marked a reef near this spot. H.M.S. "Falcon" observed the island in 1865, and in 1877 H.M.S. "Sappho" saw smoke there rising from the sea. In 1885 the island appeared again and was claimed by the Tonga Government; but gradually it vanished, and by 1898 only a reef remained. The reason for the disappearances of Falcon Island is that it is formed only of volcanic ash, which is easily washed down by the rain and waves. No growing coral has ever been found there. [175] [136]

The last appearance occurred in October, 1927, when smoke and steam rising several thousand feet could distinctly be seen from Nuku-'alofa, 45 miles away. In May, 1928, the island was visited by scientists and also by the Premier of Tonga, who annexed it for the Government. The island was then roughly circular, about two miles across, and 365 feet high. The crater was near the south-east of the island, nearly a mile [423]

EDUCATION. Primary education is free and compulsory to the 871
age of 14 years, and the number of illiterate Tongans is very small. There 872
are 73 Government Primary Schools with an enrolment of 3,016, and 40 162
Primary Schools controlled by the various Missions with an enrolment
of 2,958. Provision is made for the secondary education of boys by the 873
Government and the Free Wesleyan Church and Roman Catholic Church,
and for that of girls by these two Missions only. In recent years arrange- 562
ments have been made by the Government for the training of medical 874
students at the Central Medical School, Fiji, and also for higher education
on scholarships in Australia.

RELIGION. Government statistics (1931) show the following :— 795
Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga 16,711 ; Free Church of Tonga 4,679 ; 162
Church of Tonga 2,771 ; Roman Catholic Church 3,340 ; Church of England 311 ; Latter Day Saints 728 ; Seventh Day Adventists 232.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TONGA, LAW COURTS, ETC. 642

As defined by the Constitution of 1875, Tonga is a limited monarchy following the English system, and the government consists of (1) The Sovereign and the Privy Council, (2) The Cabinet, (3) The Parliament (Legislative Assembly).

THE PRIVY COUNCIL advises the Sovereign on affairs of State 645
and makes ordinances in the interval between Parliaments ; these ordin- 671
ances become laws if the following Parliament confirms them. Another very important duty of the Privy Council is that of preparing the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the following year. Using the information supplied by the various Departments, the Privy Council calculates how much money it expects to receive from taxation, etc., and how much money may be spent in each Department in the following year. Having drawn up these Estimates, the Privy Council sends them to the Consul who has the right of veto over the expenditure of the Tonga Government, and, finally, they are sent to Parliament for approval. At present the members of the Privy Council are :—The Sovereign (President), the Speaker of Parliament (Vice-President), the Premier, the Minister of Lands, the Minister of Police, the Governors of Vava'u and Ha'abai, and two European members, the Chief Justice and the Treasurer. Members of the Privy Council are appointed by the Sovereign.

THE CABINET consists of the members of the Privy Council,
except the Sovereign and the Speaker of Parliament. The Premier is 647
the chairman of the Cabinet, which is really a committee of the Parlia- 423
ment to control the property of the Government, to make appointments to the Public Service, and to transact such matters as deciding the terms on which leases of land may be granted.

PARLIAMENT meets each year about the end of June, its session 646
lasting about one month. Its members are :—The Speaker and members of the Cabinet, seven nobles elected by the 33 nobles of the Kingdom, and seven representatives elected by male taxpayers 21 years and over. Three of these representatives are elected by Togatabu and the two Niuas, two by Ha'abai, and two by Vava'u, and the seven nobles represent the nobles of those districts in the same proportion. Each section of the

House, the Ministers, nobles, and representatives, sits at a separate table. 646
Parliament receives the reports from the Departments, and deals with the ordinances passed by the Privy Council and with the Estimates that have been prepared by the Privy Council and revised by the Consul. Petitions may be presented through members, who may also propose motions themselves.

THE CONSUL (whose full title is His Britannic Majesty's Agent 648
and Consul) has considerable influence and important powers, derived
from the Treaty of Friendship and Protection 1901 and the Supplementary 645
Agreement 1905. By these he can veto expenditure, and he must approve the appointment of all Europeans in the Tonga Government. He advises on all external affairs, and also on internal matters if asked to do so by the Government. The Consul is, therefore, an officer of the British Government who carries out the terms of the Treaty guaranteeing both the peace and financial stability of Tonga.

THE PREMIER is the head of the Tonga Government and administers 645
these departments:—Foreign affairs, education, the medical
department, public works, agriculture, the printing office, the Government 647
vessels, telegraphs and telephones. He also controls the district [634]
officers, whose duties include the preparation of the census, the reading
of gazettes and laws to the people, and especially the supervision of
agriculture. Among those assisting the Premier are the Chief Medical 647
Officer, the Director of Education, the Director of Agriculture, and the Superintendent of Works.

The Medical Department provides free medical and dental attention 744
for all Tongans, dispensers being stationed throughout the group
and European Medical Officers at the three centres. It also inspects 647
latrines, cement tanks, etc., in the interests of public health. The Medical Officers inspect all vessels entering ports from overseas, and a quarantine station is provided in case infectious diseases are found on such vessels.

THE MINISTER OF LANDS controls the Lands and Survey 423
Departments. Every male Tongan-born subject on reaching the age
of sixteen is entitled to a tax-allotment of 8¼ acres; applications from 645
such, and also from Europeans and others wishing to lease land, have to be made to the Minister of Lands. Land cannot be sold to anyone.

THE MINISTER OF POLICE is responsible for the Police, Gaols, 645
and Traffic Departments. [625]

THE CHIEF JUSTICE, in addition to his judicial functions, [693]
registers births, deaths and marriages.

THE TREASURER is responsible for the collection of taxes and the expenditure of public money, and is Controller of Customs and the Post Office. He also has charge of the Savings Bank.

There is no national debt, but the Government has placed investments 652
totalling (in 1931) £141,686 in fixed deposits at Auckland and 457
Sydney, and in British and Colonial Government Stock.

The chief tax is the poll-tax of 36/- per annum on all Tongan males 651
sixteen years and upwards. The Customs (Import) Duty is 12½% ad
valorem on most articles (25% on some goods such as jewellery and firearms; [439]
books, free).

The Revenue for the Financial Year 1929–30 amounted to £89,584, 651
the principal items of which were :—Poll-tax £11,918 ; Customs (Import
and Export Duties) £41,902 ; Rents and Interest £11,129 ; Fees, fines,
etc. £10,145. The Expenditure for the same period totalled £85,441, 652
including : Health £8,710 ; Education in Government schools £6,556 ;
Police and Gaols £6,503 ; Public Works £18,244.

THE LAW COURTS. The Police Courts try small civil cases, 692
such as debts and non-payment of taxes, and petty criminal cases, most of which are concerned with breaches of traffic regulations and other small offences such as not cleaning road-frontages. An appeal can be taken from the Police Court to the Supreme Court in both kinds of cases. The Police Court sits every week at Nuku'alofa and the chief towns of the other parts of the group.

Serious criminal cases must also be heard first by the Police Magistrate, who may dismiss the case at once or otherwise send it for trial before the Chief Justice and a jury at the Quarter Sessions, which are held four times a year at Nuku'alofa and twice at Ha'abai and Vava'u.
There has been only one conviction for murder during the last decade ; 682
60% of the convictions in the higher court have been on charges involving 685
theft or fraud.

The Supreme Court consists of the Chief Justice who tries the more 692
important civil cases and also actions for divorce. [693]

Appeals can be taken from the Supreme Court to the Privy Council, [645]
the final court of appeal.

There is also a Land Court with its own Judge who tries cases [698]
dealing with titles and boundaries of land, and an appeal lies from his [423]
decisions to the Privy Council. [645]

As far as Europeans are concerned, certain criminal charges against
them are now tried by a European Chief Police Magistrate in the Tongan 648
Courts. Other cases must be tried before the British Agent and Consul 641
as Commissioner under the Western Pacific Commission.

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APPENDIX E.

A COMPLETE LIST OF THE ISLANDS AND VILLAGES OF TONGA.

NOTE. All islands are classed as of coral formation, except those marked (V) denoting volcanic origin.

The heights of the low islands are approximate only, as indicated from charts.

Particulars of population are from the Police Census of 27th April, 1931.

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
(1) 'ATA (V) [PYLSTAART].	1,165	560			
(2) SOUTHERN GROUP: TOGATABU AND 'EUA.					
'Eua	1,078	21,604	5		**348**
		(33.7 sq.m.)	'Ohonua	Government	193
			Houma	Royal Estate	37
			Bagai	Ve'ehala	31
			Kolomaile (Ha'atua)	Government	55
			Tufuvai	Government	32
Togatabu	270	63,516	60		**12,357**
		(99.2 sq.m.)	22 in the Eastern Division:		
			Niutoua	Government	141
			Afa	Government	64
			Kologa	Nuku	330
			Manuka	Government	38

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
SOUTHERN GROUP: TOGATABU (continued).			Navutoka	Tugi	161
			Talafo'ou and Makauga	Lauaki Jioeli Bagia	235
			Nukuleka	Jioeli Bagia	103
			Hoi	Jioeli Bagia	125
			Talasiu	Tu'ilakeba	50
			Mu'a { Labaha	Jioeli Bagia	505
			Mu'a { Tatakamotoga	Tugi	575
			Alakifonua	Tu'ibelehake	164
			Hologa	Government	147
			Malabo	Luani	103
			Fua'amotu	Tugi	270
			Nakolo	Luani	89
			Ha'asini and Hamula	Government Jioeli Bagia	171
			Lavegatoga	Tugi	31
			Fatumu	Tugi	108
			Haveluliku	Tugi	29
			26 in the Central Division:		
			Vaini	Ma'afu	254
			Logoteme	Veikune	113
			Folaha	Government	210
			Nukuhetulu	Government	94
			Veitogo	Government	224
			Ha'ateiho	Tu'iha'ateiho	159
			Bea	Lavaka	167

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
SOUTHERN GROUP: TOGATABU (continued).			Tokomololo	Ma'afu	
			and Fonogahina	Lasike	165
			Koloua	Government	
			and Tofoa	Government	76
			Haveluloto	Fielakeba	85
			Nuku'alofa Kolofo'ou	Government	1,555
			Kolomotu'a	Government	1,791
			Ma'ofaga	Fakafanua	633
			Hofoa	Government	129
			Buke	Fohe	50
			Fatai	Government	
			and Matafonua	Tu'ivakano	195
			Nukunuku	Tu'ivakano	382
			Vaotu'u	Tu'ivakano	175
			Lakeba	Lasike	92
			Houma	Vaea	427
			Ha'akame	Government	119
			Ha'alalo	Crown Prince	
			and Utulau	Crown Prince	156
			12 in the Western Division :		
			Matahau	Tu'ivakano	110
			Fahefa	Ve'ehala	
			and Ha'a'utu	Government	
			and Kala'au	Government	167
			Te'ekiu	Motu'abuaka	106
			Masilamea	Government	76

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APPENDIX E (Continued).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
Southern Group: Togatabu (continued).			Fo'ui	Vaha'i	187
			Ha'avakatolo	'Ahome'e	139
			Kolovai	Ata	334
			'Ahau	Govt. and Lasike	134
			Kanokubolu (Neiafu)	Royal Estate	162
			Ha'atafu	Government	100
Nukunukumotu		326	Siesia	Government	26
'Eua Iki ('Eueiki)	180	260	'Eueiki	Government	76
Atata	93	128	Atata	Ata	50
Tufaka	61	4½			
Alakibeau	60	2			
Bolo'a	77	12			
Malinoa	51	2			
Fafa	72	23			
Velitoa (2)	59	5			
'Onevai	54	25			
'Onevao	57	6½			
Motutabu	74	33			
Makaha'a	65	9			
Monuafe		5			
Bagaimotu		33			
Manima	47	4			
'Oneata	87	14			
Mata'aho					
Kanatea		126			
Mo'ugatabu					
Gofonua					

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in. acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
SOUTHERN GROUP: TOGATABU (continued).					
'Atā		55			
Fukave		43			
Nuku		10			
Tau	30	5			
Toketoke					
Kalau	120	50			
(3) HUGA TOGA (V).	490	110			
HUGA HA'ABAI (V).	400	160			
(4) MIDDLE GROUP: HA'ABAI.					5,410
(A) VOLCANIC GROUP.					
Falcon Island (V) [Fonua Fo'ou]	365				
Tofua (V)	1,670	13,750 (21.4 sq.m.)			
Kao (V)	3,380	3,100 (4.8 sq.m.)			
(B) 'OTU TOLU GROUP.					
Telekitoga	53	110			
Telekiha'abai (Lalona)	67	70			
Telekivava'u	71	50			
(C) MU'OMU'A OR NOMUKA GROUP.					
Nomuka	166	1,763 (2.7 sq.m.)	Nomuka	Crown Prince	478

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
MU'OMU'A OR NOMUKA GROUP (continued).					
Mago	141	130	Mago	Royal Estate	63
Fonoifua	67	40	Fonoifua	Tu'iafitu	31
Nomuka Iki	147	167			
Mago Iki	68				
Fetokobuga	57				
Tonumea	138	30			
Nukufziau	58	3			
Muifuiva	10	1			
Kelefesia	123	30			
Tano'a	57	3			
Nukutula	18	20			
(D) SOUTHERN HA'ABAI: LULUGA OR WESTERN GROUP.					
Ha'afeva	100	500	Ha'afeva	Tu'uhetoka	375
Kotu	120	40	Kotu	Government	110
Tugua	120	375	Tugua	Tu'iha'ateiho	228
'O'ua	140	240	'O'ua	Government	142
Matuku	100	83	Matuku	Tu'iha'ateiho	80
Butubutua	12	3			
Teauba	125	50			
Fetoa	125	40			
Kolo	50				
Kito	60	3			

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
SOUTHERN HA'ABAI: LULUGA OR WESTERN GROUP (continued).					
Foua	30	1			
Luanamo	75	6			
Fonuaika	65	5			
Tokulu	15	3			
Kogaloto	20				
Fakahiku	65	3			
Bebea	75				
Ono Iki	125				
Fono'imaka	6				
Lekeleka	60	30			
(E) **NORTHERN HA'ABAI: HAHAKE OR EASTERN GROUP.**					
Lifuka	100	2,825	Bagai	Royal Estate	844
		(4.4 sq.m.)	Togaleleka (Hihifo)	Government	607
			Holobeka	Tu'iafitu	104
			Koulo (Ha'atakalaua)	Government	196
Foa	100	3,310	Lotofoa	Royal Estate	308
		(5.1 sq.m.)	Fagale'ouga	Niukabu	138
			Fotua (Alakifonua)	Tu'ibelehake	175
			Faleloa	Tuita	286
Ha'ano	100	1,626	Lotoha'ano	Tu'iha'agana	296
		(2.5 sq.m.)	Muitoa	Tu'iha'agana	120
			Bukotala (Kanakana)	Tu'iha'agana	198
			Fakakakai	Government	358

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 0U9 Tonga 0U9

102 *Height, Area, Villages and Population of Islands.*

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
NORTHERN HA'ABAI: HAHAKE OR EASTERN GROUP (continued).					
'Uiha	100	1,326	'Uiha	Malubo	488
		(2.07 sq.m.)	Felemea	Government	257
Lofaga	150	360	Lofaga	Crown Prince	252
Fotuha'a	200	280	Fotuha'a	Government	126
Mo'uga'one	100	285	Mo'uga'one	Government	150
Niniva	85	122			
Ofolaga	90	220			
Buhi	20				
Luahoko	45	3			
Nukunamo	50	78			
Uoleva	100	741			
Luagahu	40	15			
Tatafa	90	78			
Tofoga	40				
Limu	40	10			
Uonuku Hahake	50	120			
Uonuku Hihifo	50	25			
Meama	105	5			
Nukubule	60	8			
Hakau'ata	60				
Fatumanogi	10				

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

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APPENDIX E (Continued).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
(5) NORTHERN GROUP:					
VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO.					**7,643**
'Uta Vava'u	670	22,179	22		
		(34.6 sq.m.)	Neiafu	Government	1,610
			Falaleu	Government	198
			Fugamisi	Government	73
			Toula	Government	104
			Makave	Tu'iafitu	156
			Utui	'Ahome'e	73
			Magia	Government	44
			Houma	Government	128
			Ha'akio	Government	111
			Ta'anea	Vaha'i	176
			Ha'alaufuli	Afu	344
			Tu'anekivale	Government	225
			Mataika	Government	217
			Feletoa	Fulivai	208
			Leimatu'a	Fotu	465
			Hologa	Royal Estate	241
			Taoa	Crown Prince	164
			Vaimalo	Government	103
			Tefisi and Ga'akau	Luani Fakafanua	208
			Logomabu	Veikune	208
			Tu'anuku	Finau Ulukalala	257
Ovaka	190	320	Ovaka	Government	186

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 0U9 Tonga 0U9

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
NORTHERN GROUP: VAVA‘U OR HA‘AFULUHAO (continued).					
Tauga	155	90	Tauga	Akau‘ola	110
Huga	245	1,160	Huga	Fulivai	228
Nuababu	210	660	Nuababu	Royal Estate	103
			Matamaka	Royal Estate	74
Labe	130	99	Labe	Government	26
Bagaimotu	290	2,188	Bagai	Royal Estate	250
		(3.4 sq.m.)	Utulei	Royal Estate	104
Utugake	290	230	Utugake	Tuita	170
			Ga‘unoho	Government	78
Kaba	345	1,475 (2.3 sq.m.)	Falevai and Vakataumai	Fakatulolo	192
			Otea	Government	173
			Kaba	Government	152
Koloa	160	555	Koloa and Holeva	Government	145
Okoa		85	Okoa	Tu‘ilakeba	124
‘Olo‘ua		120	‘Olo‘ua	Government	45
Ofu	110	310	Ofu	Tu‘ilakeba	170
Late (V)	1,700	4,300 (6.7 sq.m.)			
Maninita	55	7			
Taula	55	10			
Luaafuleheu	60	15			
Luahiabo	55	12			
Luaivaha	65	1			

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate. (Tofia).*	*Population.*
NORTHERN GROUP: VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO (continued).					
Fua'amotu	135	60			
Fonua'one'one	75	25			
Fatumaga	85				
'Eueiki	175	45			
'Euakafa	270	128			
Mu'omu'a	135	10			
Fagasito	60				
Ovalau	110	23			
Mo'unu	3	2			
Bau	75	3			
Ta'uta	135	3			
Gau	90	8			
Luatafito	40	2			
Fonuafo'ou	25				
Fonua'uga	25				
Katafaga	96				
Sisia	110	23½			
Fonualei	80	3			
Fofoa	255	184			
Kalau	195	12			
Luamoko	230	34			
Luafatu	110	4			
Vaka'eitu	200	152			
Lagitau	130	20			
Tu'ugasika	225	17			

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 0U9 Tonga 0U9

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
NORTHERN GROUP: VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO (continued).					
Foelifuka	125	64			
Foeata	125	25			
Lotuma	80	2			
Ava	165	128			
Luakaba	120	12			
Ota	200	52			
Nuku	60	8			
Faioa	140	65			
Tulie					
Kiato		4			
Mafana	135	128			
Umuna	145	128			
Kenutu	135	107			
Lolo	30	6			
Toku	86	150			
Fonualei (V)	600	465			
(6) NIUA TOBUTABU (V) [KEPPEL].	350	3,697 (5.7 sq.m.)			790
			Hihifo and Matavai	Ma'atu	470
			Vaiboa	Tagiba and Ma'atu	181
			Falehau	Royal Estate	92
Hugaga Tâvili Hakautu'utu'u		139			

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

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APPENDIX E (CONTINUED).

Island.	*Height (in ft.).*	*Area (in acres).*	*Villages.*	*Estate (Tofia).*	*Population.*
NIUATOBUTABU (continued).					
Tafahi (V) [Boscawen]	2,000	822	Tafahi	Government	47
(7) NIUA FO'OU (V).	588	12,422	9		1,291
		(19.4 sq.m.)	Agaha	Fotofili and Fujitu'a	213
			Mu'a	Fotofili	129
			Togamama'o	Government	141
			Saba'ata	Fujitu'a	127
			Mata'aho	Royal Estate	105
			Fata'ulua	Government	146
			Betani	Government	128
			Esia	Government	140
			Futu (now 'Alele'uta)	Tuita	162

121 developmental trends.

101 The research was conducted from January 1971 through
January 1972 on the main island of the Tongan archipelago,
127 Tongatapu. Data sources included archives and government
124 departments, aerial photographs, market studies, personal
interviews, questionnaire surveys, and in-the-field in-
121 ventories of random samples of agricultural holdings. The
423 major foci of the study were the plant assemblages found
241 on bush and town allotments, to which all Tongan males over
16 years of age are entitled. The bulk of agricultural
241 produce comes from the bush allotments which average about
8 acres (3.2 hectares) in size, with additional produce
coming from town allotments where residences are normally
found, and which average about 0.4 acre (0.16 hectare) in
area.

Survey results indicate that approximately 34 percent of the area on bush allotments was under cultivation, the rest remaining in various stages of fallow. Of the cultivated area, 87 percent was devoted to subsistence cropping, 11 percent to commercial cropping, and the balance to a combination of the two. The most widespread staple crops were manioc, American taro, yams, sweet potatoes, taro, giant taro and plantains. Bananas comprised 42 percent of the commercial acreage with the balance consisting of crops such as watermelons, pineapples, peanuts, plantains, corn and garden vegetables. Intercropping was

121 be treated on a statistical as well as a descriptive basis with respect to their distribution and frequency. The study will also examine significant input variables and outputs of the system. The components of the study can be summarized diagramatically:

INPUT VARIABLES	RESULTANT SYSTEM	OUTPUTS
Pool of Plant Species Environmental Parameters Cultural Practices	Traditional Tongan Agricultural Plant Assemblages	Products of Economic and Social Value

Scope of Study

For practical reasons, the study was restricted to the main island of the Tongan Archipelago, Tongatapu. The problems associated with the acquisition of field and other data are considerably reduced on Tongatapu owing to its superior transportation network and the presence there of almost all government departments, archives, and other sources of published materials.

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[121] The focus will be on the agricultural system as practiced on the traditional bush allotments ('api 'uta) and town allotments ('api kolo). Excluded are limited areas of government, royal, noble, and leasehold land. There were recorded (as of December 1971) 5652 'api 'uta on the island of Tongatapu, averaging just over 8

241 acres (3.3 hectares) in size. The 'api kolo are somewhat
423 fewer in number and average about one-quarter acre (0.1 hectares) in size.

Methodology

101 The majority of the data utilized in this study were collected on Tongatapu from January 1971 to January 1972. [114] Preparatory work was carried out during 1968 and 1969 while the author served as a United States Peace Corps Volunteer in Tonga. Some additional data were collected in February 1973.

12 The methodology used in acquiring the necessary data included: 1) a literature survey; 2) interviews; 3) a detailed study of the land tenure system; 4) research carried out in government departments; 5) a study of the market-place; 6) the use of aerial photography; 7) detailed ground reconnaissance survey; 8) the administration of a questionnaire; and 9) the collection and identification of herbarium specimens.

127 The literature survey was conducted in California and Tonga and at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu
124 and the Western Pacific Archives in Suva, Fiji. People interviewed included His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, members of government boards and departments, farmers, and other people knowledgeable on various aspects of Tongan agriculture and botany.

127 of Overseas Surveys, was used in the construction of an 128 agricultural land use/vegetation map of Tongatapu and a transect across the island. The agricultural land use/vegetation map was constructed on a cellulose acetate overlay using a photomosaic (46 photos). Most boundaries were later field checked and verified or corrected as necessary.

125 The transect across the island was constructed using a single photo of a 2.04 mile(3.29 kilometer) strip between the windward south coast (the liku) and the northern lagoon (Tahi Kele). The transect was drawn on an acetate overlay and sectioned into 52 equal segments of approximately 69 yards (63.3 meters) each. The entire length of the transect was then paced, and at each 69 yard interval the crop types, plant species, agricultural practices, and 133 elevational changes were recorded. The transect illustrates 137 the heterogeneity of the Tongan agricultural landscape from the steep windward south coast, which is characterized by littoral forest and savanna, to the low-lying leeward north coast, which is characterized by swamp and mangrove forests.

125 Random ground reconnaissance surveys were made of both the bush allotments ('api 'uta) and the town allotments ('api kolo) to gather accurate statistical data on [423] the nature of the agricultural system. The land tenure [241] system in Tonga is ideally suited to a random sampling survey because all of these allotments have been surveyed

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[241]

and the gardens of each individual farmer are generally confined to the area of single bush and town allotments.

The sampling survey of the bush allotments was based on the total of 5,652 allotments on the island in 1971, comprising about 45,214 acres (18,085 hectares). A map of these allotments (Figure 1)provided an excellent base from which a random sample of 101 allotments was selected (Figure 2) using a random numbers table. Each of the 101 'api 'uta was visited and an inventory of relevant agricultural phenomena was taken. 125

As a result of preliminary study, an inventory scheme was generated (see Appendix A) A which took into account 263 different types of agricultural phenomena, which were classified as to their number, area, condition, etc. depending upon the nature of the particular phenomenon.

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The following procedures were used to survey the 101 sample bush allotments ('api uta): 1) accurate maps for each sample allotment were drawn using survey books at the Land and Survey Department; 2) using these maps in the field, the boundary markers were located; 3) using pacing techniques, the acreages for all major crops and the location of all other trees and plants were plotted; 4) acreages of fallow ground were mapped and categorized with respect to the stage of regrowth; 5) data on the occurrence of other agricultural phenomena and practices were recorded; 6) upon completion of work in the field

A [See Category 125, pp. 350-358--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

88: Thaman K-5 (1967-1973) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

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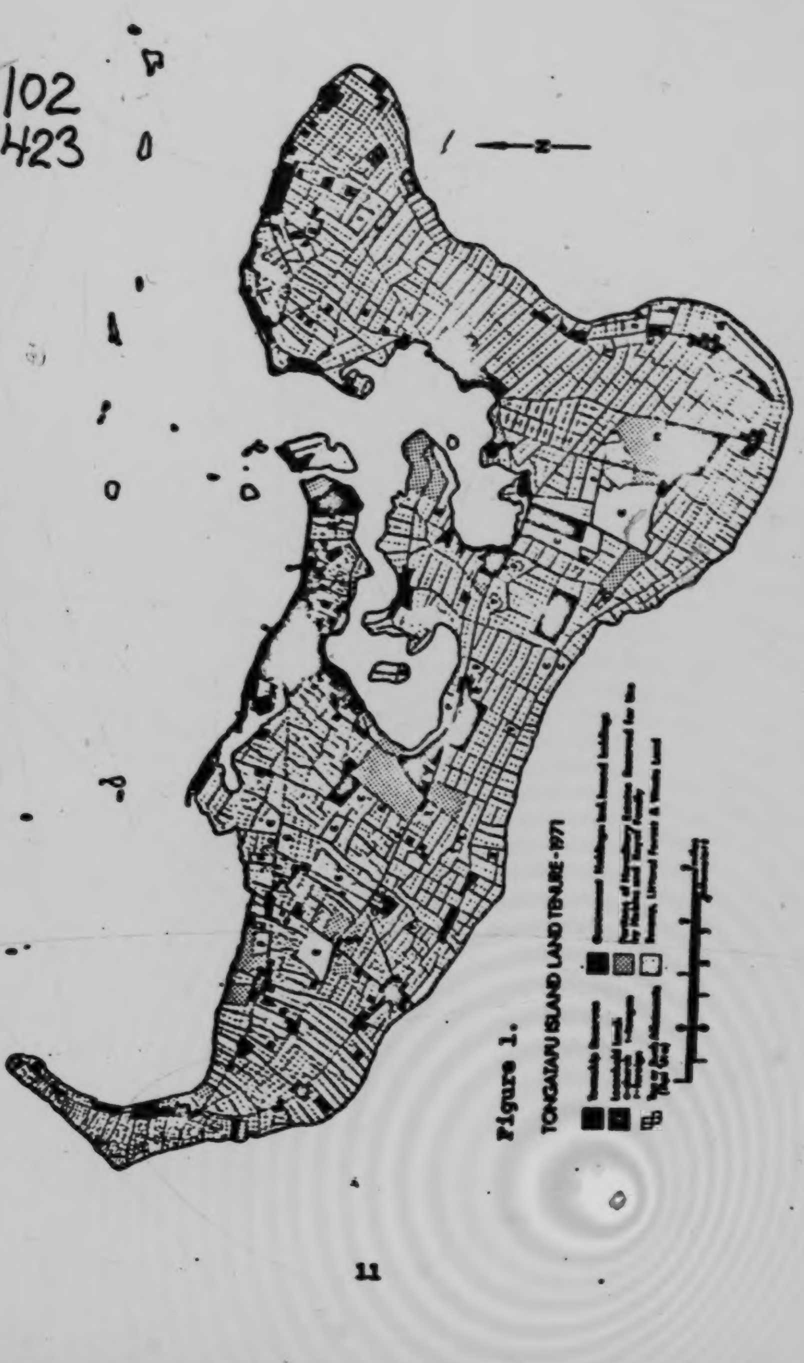
TONGATAPU ISLAND LAND TENURE - 1971
N

Figure 1.

177 convicts also increased the Tongans' knowledge of the
European culture. These visitors searching for whales,
sandalwood, turtle shell, bêche-de-mer, cheap labor, and
adventure, introduced new diseases, alcohol, and firearms.

177 The impact of missionary societies effectively began in
797 1826 and was dominated by the Methodist or Wesleyan Mission
[795] although Catholic, Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist and,
more recently, the Morman missions have also had consider-
[241] able influence. Tongans have been nominally converted to
Christianity; an education system was founded; there has
been considerable missionary influence politically; and new
agricultural technology such as sprinkler irrigation and new
varieties of peanuts, bananas, garden vegetables, and other
crops have been introduced through missionary societies.

177 During the latter half of the nineteenth century, resi-
439 dent traders and large trading concerns, such as J.C.
Godeffroy and Son, came to Tonga for such products as coco-
177 nut oil and bêche-de-mer (Robson, 1946:63). European
241 settlers and trading companies, such as the successor to
439 Godeffroy and Son, the D.H.P.G. (Deutsche, Handels-und
Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Sudsee-Inseln zu Hamburg),
[423] obtained leasehold rights to land and developed plantation
agriculture around copra, cotton, coffee, and livestock. A
number of these large-scale plantations still exist, and
European technology and the cultivation of export crops have
remained an integral part of Tongan agriculture.

361 As late as the first decade of the nineteenth century, Mariner reported that "the common men live entirely in the country with their wives and families, and occupy themselves cultivating the land" (Maude, 1965:27). Kennedy believes that:

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> These apparently dispersed dwellings may have been in groups covering a proportion of the land held by each chief . . . . This being a comparatively small area, the settlement pattern would in effect represent a village, though quite different in form from its modern counterpart in Tonga. (Kennedy, 1958:162-163; Walsh, 1970:29).

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[722]

In the early nineteenth century "Dark Age" of civil disorder, Tongans were forced to seek protection in fortresses known as kolo (the name used today for villages and towns). Such fortresses, all of which had walls, moats, pits,and other means of defense, were established throughout Tongatapu in such places as Nuku'alofa, Pea, Te'ekiu, Kolovai, Nukunuku, Fatai, Longoteme, Kolonga,and Lapaha (McKern, 1929:80-89)... the sites of present day villages or towns.

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[177]
[423]

Since the period of the civil wars, the predominant settlement pattern has remained one of nucleated settlements from which the inhabitants commute to the surrounding garden areas. The evolution of well-defined towns was no doubt encouraged by the establishment of religious missions and schools, trading companies, and government offices in towns and villages. The distinction between the 'api kolo (place to reside in town) and the 'api 'uta (place to cultivate in

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the bush) was also sharpened by legal definition in the "Constitution of 1875" (Walsh, 1970:29-30).

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Nuku'alofa became the center of Wesleyan missionary work in 1828; in 1845, King George Tupou I selected it as the site for his capital (Maude, 1965:63). Since that time Nuku'alofa, which is composed of three coalescent villages, Kolomotu'a (Old Town), Kolofo'ou (New Town), and Ma'ufanga, has been the religious, governmental, educational, commercial, economic, and cultural center of Tonga.

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Including the three villages of Nuku'alofa, there are 59 villages on Tongatapu, almost all situated on the road which encircles the island. In 1966 the "urbanized" area of Nuku'alofa with the satellite town of Haveluloto had a population of 17,241; the next largest village is Mu'a (which includes Tatakamotonga and Lapaha), the ancient capital located in the Eastern District, with a population of 3,502. The smallest village is Kala'au in the Southwest with a population of 89; the median population of all villages is 412.5 (based on 1966 census figures).

361
Surrounding each town is an area of bush allotments to which the Tongan farmers commute. In some cases, however, especially in the Fua'amotu-Pelehake area in East-Central Tongatapu, individuals farmers do have permanent residences on the bush allotments.

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423
In this particular area, the government has attempted to re-eastablish a dispersed settlement pattern by offering them single, larger allotments ranging from 12 and

361 one-eighth to 15 acres instead of the customary town and
659 bush allotment. The scheme has met with only moderate
423 success.

361 The shift from dispersed to nucleated settlement has
178 led to the transfer of many fruit trees and other specialty
241 crops, such as medicinal herbs, kava, and sugar cane, to the
dooryard gardens on the town allotments.

563 **Ethnic Composition**

Tonga, unlike most Pacific Island areas, has never had
[162] a large Asian or other foreign component. Census figures
show the Tongan component representing over 98 percent of
the total population and over 97 percent of the population
[423] on Tongatapu (Table 8). A few non-Tongans have leasehold
rights to land, but only Tongans have the legal right to
tenure on the traditional town and bush allotments to which
this study is directed.

162 **Age-Sex Structure**

[464] Like most countries with high population growth rates,
the Tongan population has a very high proportion of young
people, many of whom are not gainfully employed. In 1966,
60 percent of the population was under 21, slightly more
000 than in 1956. As these people begin families and look for
employment either as farmers or wage earners, more pressure
will come to bear on the present agricultural system.

571
602 **Social Structure**

183 Tongan social structure is permeated by countless

565 plural hou'eiki) are sub-divided into the highest chief or
554 Tu'i (the modern connotation being King); the remaining
high chiefs or hou'eiki; and the petty chiefs or ceremonial
attendants, the ha'amatapule. The remainder of society are
untitled commoners or tu'a. Membership in all classes is
by birth and, if an individual is an 'eiki or a matapule,
he will have some geneological tie to that title.

554 Within the society there is also an internal ranking
613 system comprised of titled patrilineages known as ha'a,
which have traceable geneological ties to the first Tu'i
Tonga. The closer these ties to the Tu'i Tonga, the higher
[557] one's rank and the more powerful his ha'a. In numerous
cases, inter-marriage between the different ha'a has
resulted in the strengthening of one's geneological ties
to the first Tu'i Tonga and his ranking within the Tongan
society. The highest ranking lineage, comprised of the
direct descendents of the Tu'i Tonga, is called sina'e,
whereas the remaining lineages are known as ha'a.

613 Another grouping, the matakali or fa'ahinga, is often
mentioned as a sub-division of the larger lineal grouping,
613 the ha'a. In the past, when the head of the matakali, the
● 423 ulumotu'a, had a role in the distribution of land, this
[178] was probably true. At the present time, however, since
the changes in the land tenure system in 1875, the role of
the matakali has had decreasing importance, except in a
613 621 ceremonial context. According to Morton (1972:50), the

613 *matakali* tends to be a residence group rather than a
621 segment of the larger lineal group.

565 As a result of the Constitution of 1875, the more
641 modern title of noble (*nopele*)was created and, by 1882, a
[178] number of the traditional chiefs (from the more powerful
ha'a) and three high-ranking *matapule* had been appointed
●[423] nobles. These nobles have the right to elect their own
parliamentary representatives in the government and, along
with six additional *matapule*, hold legal title to land in
the form of hereditary estates or *tofi'a*. Legally, there
are 33 nobles; however, there are only 29 title holders at
present, owing to the absence of direct heirs (Maude, 1965:
[178] 56). The traditional chiefs who were not designated as
nobles, although retaining their titles, presently have
little or no political power, and are functional primarily
in a ceremonial capacity.

565 According to Aoyagi (1966) and Morton (1972), most
613 Tongan commoners do not know their *ha'a* relationship, but,
423 on the basis of residence, generally claim an affiliation
571 to the noble or traditional chief who is the "landlord" of
their district, thus establishing a social relationship
based on land tenure.

463 A further facet of Tongan social organization was the
565 position of the artisan or craftsman. In the traditional
554 sense, the possession of skills and the rights to profes-
[428] sions, such as carpentry, net making, boat building,

622 present, however, most nobles live in Nuku'alofa, and
178 effective local leadership is often in the hands of church
565 officials, teachers, or government officials. The accumulation
556 of wealth and acquisition of European houses,
178 motor vehicles, and other European goods are also increasingly
556 important status symbols. For example, in some
villages, owners of small trading stores, buses, or trucks
[571] have gained prestige and social effectiveness. Futhermore,
[602] the wealthier a person, the easier it is for him to satisfy
both his kinship and social obligations. In many cases,
wealth is a result of increased commercial agricultural
production.

423 The nobles control the land of the Kingdom, and many
427 farmers try to maintain good relationships with their landlords
565 by making presentations of food and other goods or
427 providing labor. In the past, it was customary for all
565 Tongans to reserve the "first fruits" for the King, the
651 local chief, or the local minister (faifekau). In fact
according to Gifford (1929:104), commoners' gardens were
inspected and the choicest yams, plantains, taros, etc., as
well as pigs over a certain size, were tapu (sacred) and
were to be preserved for the King and other high chiefs.

423 Since 1875, when a system of legal land registration
427 was started, this practice of presenting the first fruits,
565 known as 'inasi or polopolo, has declined considerably.
178 With increasing outside influence through the church and
651

423 schools, egalitarian principles are gaining wider acceptance
427 and if presentations are to be made to the nobles,
565 they are generally made during ceremonial occasions. However,
178 there are a number of nobles who have as yet not
651 granted permanent tenure to tenants on their land and continue to exact tribute in the form of cash or produce for the privilege of tenure.

554 Apart from the nobility, the positions of matapule, town officers and district officers, artisans, ministers, schoolteachers, and successful entrepreneurs, all demand
[437] certain respect. In order to maintain a favourable social atmosphere, reciprocal exchanges of money, food, or labor are made between these individuals and their constituencies.

182 In summary, it must be stressed that these social ties,
571 as well as the previously described kinship ties, provide
602 the basis for cohesion in the Tongan society. Not only do these set up vast networks of both unilateral and bilateral exchanges of cash, food, and services, but they also provide the basis for the political system, land tenure, and the
565 organization of labor. At the present time, the titles of
178 chiefs, particularly nobles, still carry great social, economic, and political power. Similarly, the nuclear
178 family, the broader kin group, and the village still play a
602 major role with the social and economic life of the average
571 Tongan. However, with increasing exposure to other
[177] [182] cultures, a continuing influence of the church, and an

178
177 increased dependence on the cash economy,the traditional
182 forms of social organization are changing to allow more
602 individualism, egalitarianism,and personal freedom and
571 consequent modification of the traditional Tongan agricultural system.

Land Tenure

175 Traditional Land Tenure

423 Of the limited information concerning Tongan land
tenure before European contact, the most comprehensive
survey is that by Maude (1971). According to Maude, the
pre-contact system probably consisted of sets of over-
lapping stewardships, in contrast to the more individua-
175 listic present system. The basic landholding group was a
423 patrilineal known as a fa'ahinga or matakali. Each
565 fa'ahinga was headed by an ulumotu'a, who usually held a
631 hereditary title such as matapule (Ceremonial attendant) or
613 foha to the chief.
[621]

A number of these fa'ahinga were grouped under the
authority of a chief, the highest ranking fa'ahinga with-
175 in this group being the chief's own. A number of related
423 chiefs, and their fa'ahinga, were grouped into ha'a, which
613 had rights over large tracts of land which "formed rough
631 but not completely exclusive territorial units" (Maude,
565 1971:107). The ultimate title to all land was probably
613 vested nominally in the Tu'i Tonga, who represented the
[643] highest ranking ha'a.

009
613 highest ranking *ha'a*.

● 423 At the lowest level of this system of overlapping
175 stewardships, the *'ulumotu'a* had authority to allot parcels
621
[565] of land to members and households within his *fa'ahinga*
(Morton, 1972:50). Once a *fa'ahinga* had tenure on a given
parcel of land, their rights to it generally continued
[565] indefinitely, unless lost in war. Their rights, however,
[643] were also probably subject to acceptable behaviour and
[631] conformity to norms and could be overruled by the chief, the
head of the *ha'a*, or the Tu'i Tonga in extreme circumstances
(Maude, 1965:107-109).

423 The system was feudalistic and there were reportedly
175 many exactions by the chiefs on the land holder. These
631 included the provision of labor, first fruits, and food for
565 important occasions. The landholders's position was sub-
651 servient to the higher chiefs, and ultimatly to the Tu'i
Tonga, with little security in land or its produce (West,
1865"261-263; Rutherford, 1971:58).

423 ***Development of the Present System***

178 Major changes in the traditional system followed the
accession to power of Tupou I in 1845. The central govern-
423 ment assumed sole authority to grant titles to land (1850)
178 with the prohibition of the sale of land to anyone, non-
656 Tongans (1850) or Tongans (1872) (Maude, 1971:109-110).
[177] According to most accounts, many of these early changes
were attempts, brought about with the help of Wesleyan

423 missionaries to emancipate the Tongan commoner from
178 serfdom, forced labor, and obligatory contributions to
656 traditional chiefs (Wood, 1945:56-57; Rutherford, 1971:58;
177 Maude, 1971:110). Further changes were brought about by
423 the Constitution of 1875. One of the major provisions of
178 the Constitution was the granting of "legal" estates or
565 *tofi'a* to a number of the traditional chiefs. This provided
641 for the re-establishment of a landed nobility, which had
been, in law but not in practice, eliminated in 1852.
423 Accordingly, by 1882, Tupou I had appointed 30 traditional
565 chiefs and six *matapules* as virtual landlords of hereditary
641 estates thoughout Tonga. The nobles thus created had the
[427] right to lease land in their districts to Tongans and, with
423 the Cabinet's approval to foreigners. The balance of the
land not included in the 36 grants remained under the
control of the Crown. The Act of 1882 established the right
423 of each Tongan male sixteen years of age or older to both
641 a town allotment (*'api kolo*) and a bush or garden allotment
659 (*'api 'uta*) to be granted to him by the holder of the estate
on which he resided; in 1891, the government assumed responsibility for granting allotments (although estate holders continued to receive the rent); and in 1915, estate holders were given the right to be consulted before the government (through the Minister of Lands) granted allotments from their estates (Maude, 1971:111).

423 The primary basis for the present system is the Land

423

Act of 1927 and its subsequent amendments (Wylie, 1967:599-661). This act embraces many of the previous changes; defines types of tenure and the rights and obligations of each land holder; establishes procedures for land distribution; and provides for the establishment of a governmental body and court to maintain the system.

Types of Tenure

Although, under the Land Act of 1927, all land in Tonga is ultimately the property of the Crown, it is divided into four tenure categories: 1) hereditary estates of the nobles and matapule; 2) the King's (or Queen's in the absence of a King) hereditary estate; 3) a hereditary estate held jointly by the Royal Family; and 4) government or Crown Land.

These estates are subdivided under law to provide bush and town allotments, which can be held only by Tongans; leasehold land which may be held by Tongans, foreigners, charitable institutions, or the government itself; and public land which is reserved for such purposes as hospitals, government departments, commons, and schools. The bush allotments ('api 'uta) are subdivisions of the nobles' and matapules'hereditary estates and Crown Land; the town allotments ('api kolo)are subdivisions of Crown land which has been set aside in "town reserves"; the leasehold land is obtained from all four tenure types; and the public land is requisitioned or leased from hereditary

423 estates or is reserved from Crown land.

Distribution of Land

Rights to tenure and a system of inheritance are pro-
[643] vided for in the Land Act of 1927. All holders of heredi-
tary estates (tofi'a) are appointed by the ruling monarch
who may grant new estates from Crown land when he finds it
423 necessary. The rules of succession to hereditary estates
428 are based on primogeniture but if there are no direct lineal
descendents, the inheritance may go to brothers or sisters
and their lineal descendents. If no legitimate heir, male
or female, is available, the estate reverts to the Crown
until such time as the King grants title to a new holder.
423 If the rightful holder is less than twenty-one years of
429 age, the King shall appoint a trustee until he comes of age.
643

Government or Crown land is that not held as part of
423 hereditary estates. The government may, through the
Minister of Lands and with the consent of the Cabinet,
reserve portions of this land for roads, commons, cemeteries
schools, recreation areas hospitals, government depart-
423 ments, or other public purposes. The King, with the consent
425 of Privy Council may also call upon any holder to give up
[643] land for public purposes. In such cases, the dispossessed
may be offered land in replacement or both land and
remuneration.

423 With respect to bush allotments (referred to as tax
allotments or 'api tukuhau in the Land Act) and town allot-

423 ments, the law states that every native male Tongan of sixteen years of age, upon application to the Minister of Lands is entitled to a bush allotment not exceeding 8 1/4 acres (3.3 hectares) and a town allotment not exceeding one rood, 24 perches (2/5 acre or 0.2 hectares). A person may hold no more than one of each and he may not make further applications after having refused a previous allotment.

Also provided for was the option of a single "oversize" bush allotment of 12 3/8 acres (5.0 hectares) instead of the customary separate bush and town allotments. A later amendment provided for the issuance of 15 acres (6.1 hectares) (a 10 acre bush allotment plus 5 acres to be leased at a
[361] nominal fee). These were attempts to create a dispersed settlement pattern with farmers living on bush allotments instead of in villages.

By law, the allotments should be obtained from the hereditary estate or parcel of Crown land on which the applicant resides, although if such land is unavailable there, the allotment may be granted elsewhere.

423
428 The rules of inheritance of allotments are also based on primogeniture, although the original holder's widow is entitled to his allotments. Upon the remarriage or death of the previous holder's widow, an allotment descends, by the rules, to his male descendents; his unmarried daughters; his brothers or their lineal descendents; his father's brothers; or their lineal descendents, in that order. Upon remarriage

423 or death of the previous holder's widow, the allotment
428 descends, in order to his male descendents; his unmarried daughters; his brothers or their lineal descendents; his father's brothers; or their lineal descendents, [illegible]

If a legal heir already holds an allotment, the allotment descends upon the next most appropriate heir. In the case of sons and grandsons of the holder, they have the option of selecting between the allotment they hold or the one available for inheritance. Allotments can also be surrended by the rightful heir by reason of old age or ill-
[429] ness. In cases where the legal heir has not reached the age of sixteen, the Minister of Land can appoint a trustee (s) until he comes of age. If no person claims the allotment, it reverts to the estate holder or the Crown. The Minister of Land may reallocate reverted allotments.

Although fragmentation is discouraged, a person may apply to the Minister to subdivide an allotment between sons, grandsons, brothers, or nephews if the original allot-
423 ment is of sufficient size. An alien can reside on an
641 estate or an allotment only by permission of the Minister.

423 Leasehold Land

427 The Land Act strictly prohibits sale of land and
[432] mortgaging of land or crops. However, there is a provision for the leasing of land and for another form of temporary
[428] tenure, the "permit". Leasehold rights can be inherited

423 427 428 but land use rights acquired by permit terminate upon the death of the original holder.

According to the Land Act, the Minister of Lands has 423 427 659 the power to grant leases, sub-leases, and permits to Tongans, aliens, charitable organizations (missionary societies and churches), or the government, with the approval of the Cabinet. Leases may be granted from portions of hereditary estates or Crown Land which have not been granted for tax allotments or will not, in the opinion of the Cabinet, be required for allotments within the term of the lease. Excluding land leased to charitable institutions and for government purposes, no more than five percent of the total area of an estate can be leased.

423 427 [659] The term of a Tongan lease shall not exceed 50 years and the term of a lease to a charitable institution, alien, or the government shall not exceed 99 years. The Minister, with the Cabinet's and, when applicable, the estate holder's approval, can renew leases.

423 Conditions of Tenure

427 643 644 The King and the Royal Family have exclusive rights to their estates and, although no bush or town allotments are granted from these estates, portions of them can be leased.

423 Crown land must be subdivided to provide bush and town allotments. 423 659 681 The Minister may not dispossess any legal holder of his town or bush allotment unless he contravenes the law.

423 The holders of non-Royal hereditary estates have a
427 number of rights, including the receipt of rent from all
[651] bush allotment holders on their respective estates. In
addition, they receive 90 percent of the rent from every
lease on their estate (10 percent goes to the Crown). They
also have the power to approve all allotments and leases
granted on their land; can refuse to grant an allotment to
a resident of another estate, even if the wife resides on
their estate; and can reserve portions of their estate for
their own private use or that of their family of their
[681] heirs. The holder of any hereditary estate may not
dispossess any holder of a bush allotment or lease except
[656] for contravention of the law. The holder of an hereditary
estate may, however, refuse to renew a lease or refuse to
grant a bush allotment, although his decision may be overruled by the Minister of Lands and the Cabinet.

Tenure to individual tax and town allotments is not
secured until they are surveyed and registered with fees
ranging from T$11 to $18 depending on the size of the allot-
423 ment (Wylie, 1967:647-649). Thereafter, tenure is secure
427 unless the holder is convicted for a felony; is declared
681 legally insane; fails to pay his annual rent of T$0.80;
245 does not maintain the allotment in a reasonable state of
cultivation (each holder of a bush allotment is required to
plant 200 coconut palms and keep them in a reasonable state
of cultivation); uses the land or crops as security;

423 427 [245 681] illegally allows an alien to reside on the land; or abandons the allotment for over two years. The tenure of leasehold land (including permits, sub-leases, and transfers) is also subject to the payment of a registration and surveyor's fees relative to the size of the parcel of land.

423 647 [698] Enforcement and Administration

The Land Act of 1927 provides for the enforcement and administration of the land laws. Provision is made for the establishment of the Land Court, the appointment of a Minister of Lands, and Land and Survey Department Office in Nuku'alofa.

423 Present Distribution and Effectiveness of the Land Tenure System

The existence of a legal code does not necessarily guarantee enforcement of these laws. Consequently, it is necessary to look at the present distribution of types of land tenure on Tongatapu to determine the effect of the law on the agricultural system.

423 565 As of 1971, 39 hereditary estates or tofi'a had been granted to chiefs or matapules (Maude, 1971:112). Of these 23 have part or all of their estates on Tongatapu (Figure 9) and 16 have their entire estates on other islands. The combined area of the 23 estates on Tongatapu is approximately 42,400 acres (17,200 hectares) (see Appendix F ^A for a breakdown of the estates by title, location on Tongatapu, and approximate areas). Including the King's and the Royal Family's estates, the combined acreage of all

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A [See Category 423, pp. 432-433--Analyst.]

88: Thaman K-5 (1967-1973) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

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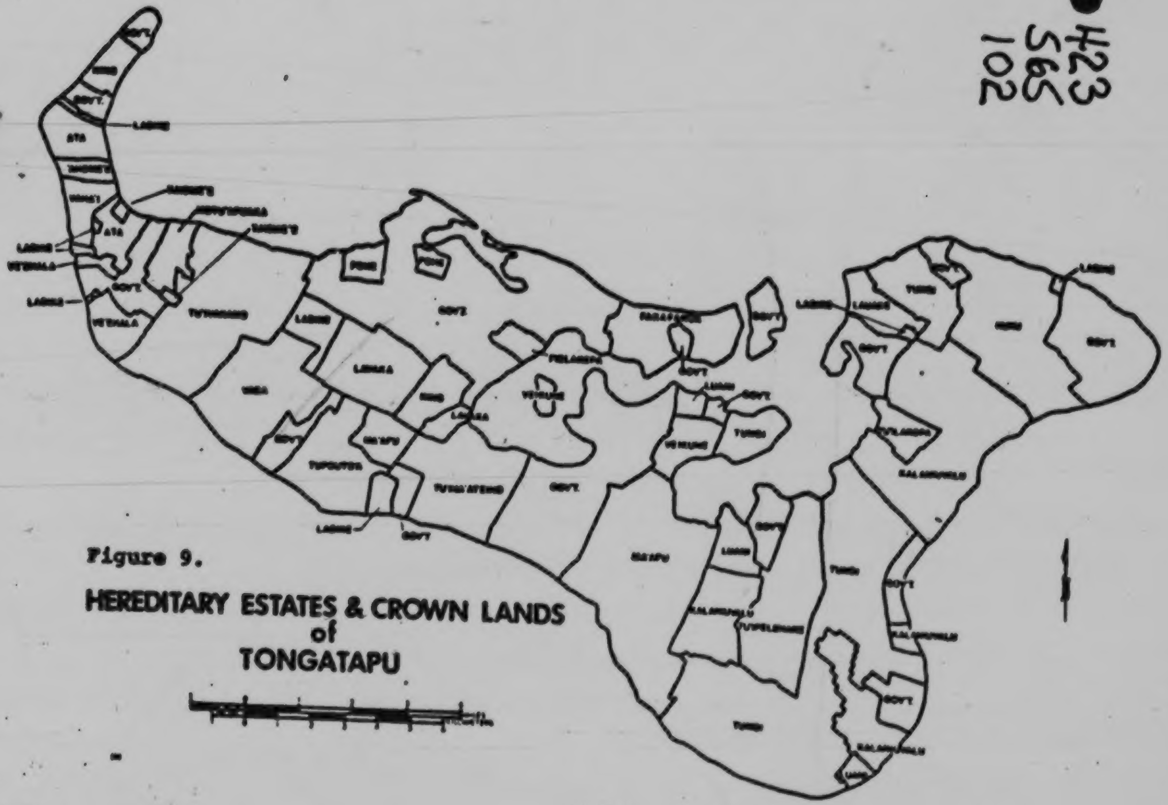
GOV'T
ATA
VETEHALA
LAPAHA
TUPOUTO'A
TU'IHA'ATEIHO
MA'AFU
FIELAKEPA
VEIKUNE
TUNGI
KALANIUVALU
TU'IPELEHAKE

Figure 9.

HEREDITARY ESTATES & CROWN LANDS
of
TONGATAPU

423 565 the hereditary estates on Tongatapu is approximately 43,400 acres (17,600 hectares), approximately 68 percent of Tongatapu. 423 The remaining 32 percent, approximately 20,300 acres(8,200 hectares), is made up of Crown land. 128 The map of "Hereditary Estates and Crown Lands of Tongatapu" shows the distribution of these types of tenure (Figure 9).

423 The bush and town allotments, leasehold land, land for public purposes, and land to be used by the families of hereditary estate holders are all derived from subdivisions of the hereditary estate and Crown land (Figure 1). Before the cadastral survey of 1957, only a small area (2,564 tax allotments in the entire Kingdom) had been subdivided into statutory bush allotments of 8 1/4 acres. In many cases "customary holdings", both surveyed and unsurveyed, still remained (Maude, 1965:101). By 1971, however, surveyed statutory 8 1/4 acre allotments made up a vast majority of the bush allotments found on Tongatapu. Also included in the category of statutory allotments are 12 3/8 and 15 acre allotments which were provided for under the Land Act. Most of the 15 acre allotments are found north of Fua'amotu on the estates of Tungi and Tu'ipelehake; the 12 3/8 acre allotments, are fewer in number and scattered throughout Tongatapu.

The two major areas of surveyed non-statutory allotments are in the area north of Fo'ui in western Tongatapu and in the area south of Ma'ufanga (eastern Nuku'alofa)

A [See Category 423, p. 11--Analyst.]

423 423 182 in north-central Tongatapu (Figure 1). According to Maude (1965:102), these areas have never been re-divided into 8 1/4 acre allotments because, in these areas of high population density, the customary allotments have always been smaller and enlarging them to statutory size would have resulted in the dispossession of a great number of land holders. In central and eastern Tongatapu, however, where population densities are less and customary holdings were characteristically larger, it has been possible to subdivide these into statutory allotments.

423 Although there are still some oversized customary holdings which are unsurveyed, the only significantly oversized holdings which are still considered "tax allotments" (the legal term for bush allotments) are four customary allotments of 147, 137, 61 and 23 acres (59,55, 25 and 9 hectares) which were granted to holders by Tu'ipelehake on the portion of his estate known as Lafalafa, north of Fua'amotu.

Including all bush allotments, surveyed and non-
surveyed, statutory and customary allotments, as of December
[128] 1971, there were 5,652 bush allotments on Tongatapu. (This
figure is based on careful determination of the nature of
tenure for every parcel of land by the author and an
assistant in consultation with the Chief Draughtsman and
other personnel of the Lands and Survey Department). These
5,652 allotments comprised approximately 45,200 acres

(18,300 hectares), an average of 8.0 acres (3.2 hectares). The average for the Hahake or eastern district is considerably higher (Table 9) because of the presence of the 15 acre allotments and the four oversized allotments on Tu'ipelehake's estate. The average size in Vaheloto, the central district, is reduced by undersized allotments in the area south of Ma'ufanga. The low average in Hihifo, the western district, is due to a larger number of customary allotments north of Fo'ui, which average 5.3 acres (2.1 hectares). In addition to the undersized customary allotments, there are several undersized allotments which were pieces left over after areas had been surveyed into statutory allotments. There are also 28 statutory allotments which have been subdivided, with the approval of the

Table 9. Number, total area and average area of Tongatapu bush allotments ('api 'uta).

	District			
	Hahake	**Vaheloto**	**Hihifo**	**Tongatapu**
Total Allotments	2,583	2,268	801	5,652
Total Acreage	21,900	17,633	5,682	45,214
(Hectares)	(8,863)	(7,136)	(2,300)	(18,298)
Average Acreage	8.59	7.8	7.1	8.0
(Hectares)	(3.4)	(3.2)	(2.9)	(3.2)

423 **Minister, into 56 4 1/8 acre (1.7 hectares) allotments; and
11 other 4 acre (1.6 hectares) allotments resulting from
subdivision of expired leasehold land southeast of Utulau.**

423 **Town allotments, which are supposed to be 2/5 acre
361 (0.2 hectares) in size, are located in the 59 town reserves
throughout Tongatapu (Figure 3).**[A] **Each of these town
reserves is subdivided into numerous town allotments or
[128] '*api* *kolo*. Figures 10 and 11 are examples of the sub-
division of the town reserves of Houma and Kolonga into
[127] individual town allotments ('*api* *kolo*). There is very
little information regarding the exact number and acreage
of town allotments on Tongatapu. Nevertheless, based on
figures in the *Report of the Lands and Survey Department*
(Government of Tonga, 1971a:Appendix I), there are probably
[114] between 4,000 and 5,000 town allotments. Hardaker (1971:25)
[162] quotes a figure of over 13,000 town allotments for Tongatapu, but this seems unlikely considering that the total
number of households on Tongatapu, at the 1966 census, was
only just over 6,000. Most allotments are probably close
to the statutory size although there are many oversized and
undersized allotments.**

423 **The portions of hereditary estates which have been
311 reserved for the holders and their families comprise about
3,100 acres (1,255 hectares). These parcels are generally
used for food or commercial crops. In some cases, the land
has been put into plantations for the production of copra**

[A] [See Category 361, p. 14--Analyst.]

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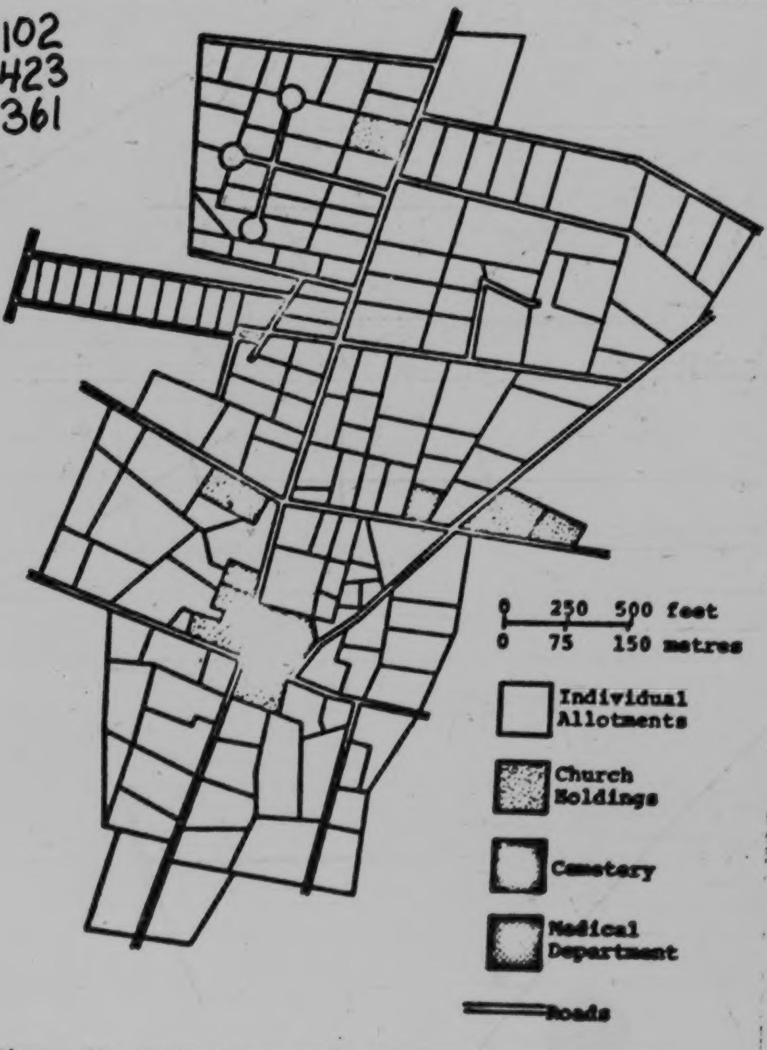
361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Individual Allotments
Church Holdings
Cemetery
Medical Department
Roads

Figure 10. Subdivision of the Houma township reserve.

88: Thaman K-5 (1967-1973) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

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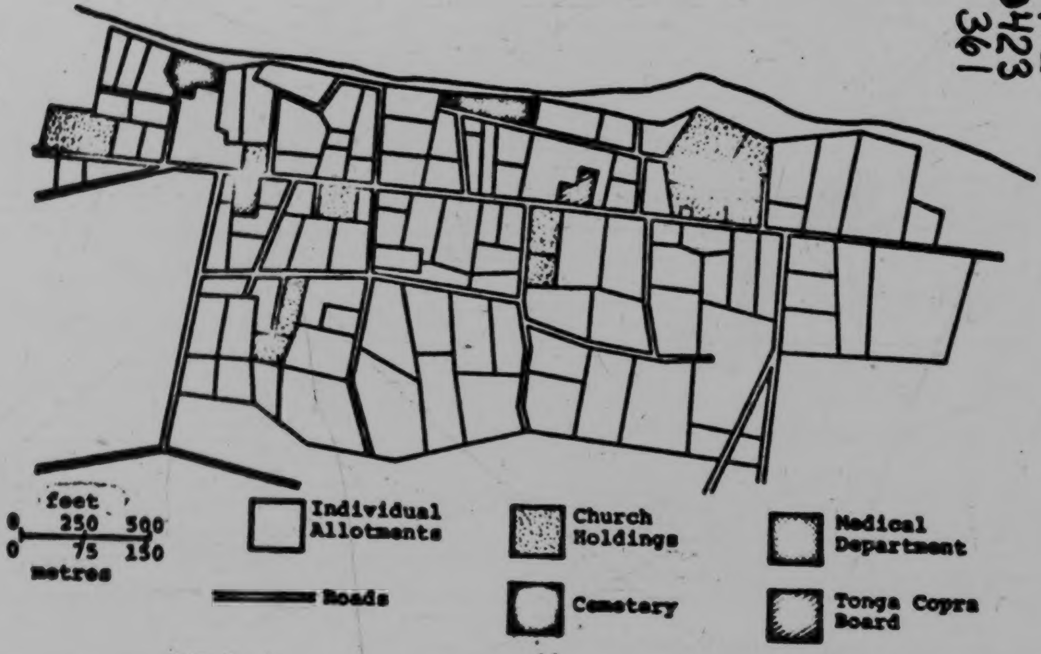
feet
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metres
Individual Allotments
Church Holdings
Medical Department
Roads
Cemetery
Tonga Copra Board

Figure 11. Subdivision of the Kolonga township reserve.

423 311 [427] [178] and grazing of cattle. A considerable portion of the unsubdivided land now held by the nobles was in former European leaseholdings, which were not renewed. At present, much of this land is underutilized and many of the coconut plantations have deteriorated since the termination of the leases.

423 427 [178] In the past, there were over 8,000 acres (3,200 hectares) of leasehold land on Tongatapu, but the acreage continues to decrease as leases expire without renewal. Based on records in the Lands and Survey Department, there are at present 162 leases, sub-leases or permits over 2 acres in size, comprising an area of approximately 4,900 acres (2,000 hectares). There are other smaller leases [563] which are of little or no agricultural value. Of these 162 leases, 67 are held by church or missionary societies and 46 by aliens, including resident Europeans and other Pacific Islanders.

423 311 Most large lease holdings are used as copra plantations and for grazing. Some of the larger holdings and many smaller holdings are used as banana plantations, some for traditional Tongan agriculture, some for the production of garden vegetables for overseas export, and perhaps as much as 20 percent of the total area for non-agricultural purposes such as church and school sites.

● 423
311
The land reserved for government purposes includes some that is used agriculturally, such as lands of the government secondary school, Atele, in Ha'ateiho, the prison farm at Huatolitoli, and the Government Farm south of Vaini. The nature of the agricultural production differs considerably from that as practiced on the smaller bush allotments, and most of the land is not used in a traditional Tongan manner.

423
Table 10 summarizes land tenure on Tongatapu. Crown Land includes swamp and waste areas, shoreline and beaches, government departments, schools, airfields, and leases less than two acres in area. Using the estimated number of 4,000-5,000 town allotments and the average statutory acreage of 2/5 acres, town allotments would probably total 1,600 to 2,000 acres (650 to 810 hectares).

There remains the question of how effectively the system provides secure tenure to those Tongans who desire land for agriculture. Although the law states that each Tongan male, sixteen years of age or over, is entitled to both a bush and a town allotment, this is impossible.

In 1971, there were only 5,652 bush allotments, claimed or unclaimed, on the entire island of Tongatapu.
[162] Yet five years earlier at the time of the 1966 census, there were already 12,322 eligible male holders. In 1966, only 39 percent of the eligible males on Tongatapu had allotments. The percentage on other islands was somewhat higher,

423 but the same problem exists there (Table 11).

Table 10. Total land area of Tongatapu (including Kanatea and Nukunukumotu) by major land tenure types, 1971-1972.

Type of Tenure	Acreage	Hectares	Total %
Bush allotments	45,214	18,298	71
Undivided portions of hereditary estates	3,138	1,270	5
[427] Church (charity leases)	(2,779)	(1,125)	
Foreign leases	(1,303)	(527)	
Tongan leases	(800)	(324)	
Total leasehold land	4,882	1,976	8
Crown land including town allotments	10,382	4,202	16
TOTAL	63,616	25,745	100

Source: Lands and Survey Department Records.

[161] Given the present rate of population growth of approximately three percent and the increasing migration to Tongatapu from the other island groups, the situation was undoubtedly more critical in 1971 than in 1966 and will deteriorate in the future. According to Lands and Survey Department personnel, there is also a shortage of town allotments.

423
592 Although legal rights to tenure of bush and town allotments are held by individuals, access to agricultural land

423 might be better tabulated on the basis of the household,
592 the major economic and social unit. In the survey of 150
households throughout Tongatapu, it was found that 89
percent had some access to bush allotments (Table 12).
423 Because the survey was administered to households that were
592 located on town allotments, all sample households had
128 either permanent or temporary access to a town allotment
[125] (Table 13). If the survey had been administered on a
family or individual basis there would undoubtedly have
been a number of people without rights to town allotments.

162
423 Table 11. Number of eligible males with and without bush
allotments (Nuku'alofa figures include Haveluloto;
[128] Tongatapu figures do not include 'Atata and 'Euaiki).

	With	%	Without	%	Not Stated	%	Total
Nuku'alofa	1328	32	2757	67	23	1	4108
Tongatapu	4774	39	7479	61	69	1	12322
Other Islands	3531	46	4074	53	47	1	7652
Tonga	8305	42	11553	58	116	1	19974

Source: 1966 Census:89-96.

423 In those villages outside of Nuku'alofa, only four out
592 of 105 households had no access to tax allotments. In
369 Nuku'lofa (Kolomotu'a, Kolofo'ou and Ma'ufanga), however,
12 our of 45 had no access to bush allotments (Table 12).

423
592 **Table 12. Sample households having access to a specified number of Bush Allotments.**

Village	Bush Allotments per Household					Total	Total
	0	1	2	3	4 or more	House holds	Allot ments
Haveluliku	0	7	1			8	9
Fatumu	0	11	3	2	2(4,5)	18	23
Kolonga	0	18	3	1	1(7)	23	34
Houma	1	12	5		1(5)	19	27
Kolovai	0	13	2			15	17
Ha'ateiho	3	18	1			22	20
Kolomotu'a	22	9	1			12	11
Kolof'ou	10	15	1			26	17
Ma'ufanga		7				7	7
TOTAL	16	110	17	3	4	150	174

*Numbers in parentheses indicates the actual number of allotments if 4 or more.

(Source: Survey questionnaire data.)

423 Although a great majority of the households have some
241 access to bush and town allotments, the type of agriculture
182 practiced on these allotments is affected by the nature of
423 tenure. There are essentially four basic types of tenure.

423
592 **Table 13. Number of town allotments per survey household.**

	Town Allotments Per Household				
Village	**1**	**2**	**3**	**Total Households**	**Total Allotments**
Haveluliku	8			8	8
Fatumu	13	4	1	18	22
Kalonga	22	1		23	24
Hpuma	18	1		19	20
Kolovai	14	1		15	16
Ha'ateiho	21	1		22	23
Kolomotu'a	12			12	12
Kolofo'ou	25	1		26	27
Ma'ufanga	6	1		7	8
TOTAL	140	9	1	150	160

423
425 Legal tenure is obtained by registration and paying registration and surveying fees to the Minister of Lands. Customary tenure is obtained through prolonged residence on an allotment, generally by the holder and his ancestors. Temporary tenure or usufruct rights are obtained from friends or kinsmen who are willing to lend part or all of [427] an allotment. Tenure by rental is obtained extralegally through arrangements with the legal or customary holder of an allotment.

000
423
241
an allotment. The more permanent the tenure, the greater the possibility that the tenant will plant long-term crops like coconuts, bananas, or other fruits trees instead of subsistence crops like cassava or taro.

423
425
[428]
The most common means of obtaining legal or customary tenure to a bush or town allotment is inheritance. Individuals who are not legal heirs must find vacant allotments. By law, an individual, after finding a vacant allotment should apply directly to the Minister of Lands to register it. Unfortunately, in practice a person generally must first get approval from the estate holder in the case of an hereditary estate, or the town officer, in the case of government or Crown land. Although the Minister of Lands can overrule the decision of either the estate holder or the town officer, this rarely happens.

[571]
An individual who wants permission to register land seldom approaches the estate holder or town officer directly; instead, he works through senior kinsmen or a matapule with higher social standing. [431] In almost all cases, inquiries are either preceded or accompanied by gifts of food such as pigs, chickens, or yams. If permission is given, the new "holder" will, in most cases, not be able to register the allotment immediately. Instead, there is generally a "probationary" period designed to insure that new holders use the land wisely and fulfill their social obligations to the village or district (Maude, 1965:104). [427] The probationary

423 period is often abused or extended by the estate holder or
425 town officers who make excessive demands on the tenant.

[427] Thus some estate holders in effect have the same power
over land distribution as they had prior to the "emancipa-
[565] tion" of landholders in 1852. At present, there are a
[427] number of nobles who have bad reputations, with respect to
demanding foodstuffs, labor and money, while failing to
register allotments. In most cases, it is easier to
register an allotment on Crown land than on an hereditary
estate.

[428] Occupancy by customary right is generally obtained
through inheritance and is relatively secure, especially if
a family has used a particular allotment for generations.
Rulings by the Land Court have commonly favored a customary
holder over a registered holder who has obtained approval
[427] of the estate holder (Hunter, 1963:104-106). Nevertheless,
under customary tenure, there is a greater incidence of
having to fulfill obligations to the estate holder. However,
where the estate holder or officer is not excessively
demanding, customary tenure is for practical purposes as
secure as legal tenure.

Temporary tenure is obtained by asking kinsmen, friends,
[241] or even estate holders for usufruct rights. In this case,
the legal or customary holder generally produces copra
from the palms on the property, while the tenant plants
only subsistence crops. Owing to the scarcity of vacant

423 allotments, some households and many individuals have only
425 temporary tenure. They are generally younger brothers who
were not legal heirs or are immigrants from other islands
or districts. The ability of an individual or household to
obtain temporary occupancy seems to be, to a great extent,
contingent on fulfillment of social obligations.

423 Finally, it is not uncommon to find landholders rent-
425 ing their land to others, although strictly forbidden under
427 law. An increasingly common practice seems to be rental to
[241] farmers who want additional acreage for commercial crops,
such as bananas, watermelons, and garden vegetables, or for
[435] yams to be sold locally. The rental fee for an eight and a
quarter allotment ranges from as low as five to over a
hundred dollars per year or a percentage of the profits.
The period of rental usually runs from one to five years.
It depends on the individual agreement whether the tenant
has usufruct rights to coconuts planted on the allotment.
Many Tongans who are willing to rent all or part of their
allotments are wage earners rather than full-time farmers.

Tables 14 and 15 show the nature of tenure to bush
423 and town allotments for the sample households on Tongatapu.
[369] The highest percentage of registered allotments are in the
[161] urban area of Nuku'alofa (Kolomotu'a, Kolofo'ou and Ma'ufanga)
and Kolovai, both areas with high population densities and
smaller parcels of land. Similarly, in Kolonga, one of the
first areas to be resurveyed according to the Cadastral

423 Survey of 1957, the estate holder has allowed a relatively
high percentage of the allotments to be registered.

The area with the lowest proportion of registered
allotments is around Fatumu and Have'uliku, where sub-
division has not been completed and tenure to many parcels
is on a customary basis. There seems to be little signifi-
cant difference in the percentage of households having only
temporary tenure, except for Kolonga, where the percentage
[311] was 35. Kolonga is one of the major banana growing areas,
[245] as well as being well-organized on a village basis for
production of cash crops. Likewise, out of seven allotments
[427] which were rented, five were in the Kolonga district, where
successful local enterpreneurs have rented allotments from
other villagers.

[592] In summary, although the number of allotments in Tonga
is insufficient, most households have some access to land,
241 either permanently or temporarily. Futhermore, although
311 strictly forbidden by law, renting land to those who are
423 landless or industrious enough to farm more land, often
427 intensifies utilization of the land that is available.
241 Because of varying permanency of tenure, different kinds of
311 cropping, ranging from almost purely subsistence gardening
423 to purely commercial agriculture, occur throughout the
mosaic-like patterm of over 5,000 bush allotments. The
permanency of tenure of town allotments is also often
reflected in the degree to which trees and long-term crops

423 are planted in dooryard gardens. Because the law which
311 requires that the allotments be kept in a reasonable state
241 of cultivation is not enforced, many allotments are under-
utilized or have not been used for extended periods of
423 time. These allotments are often held by wage earners, "in
trust" for sons who are too young to utilize the allotments,
or by individuals who have left Tonga to work or reside
overseas.

Table 14. Class of tenure to bush allotments held by sample households.

Village	Registered	Un-Registered	Temporary	Rented	Total
Haveluliku	3	4	2	0	9
Fatumu	3	23	6	0	32
Kolonga	15	2	12	5	34
Houma	9	12	5		27
Kolovai	11	2	4	0	17
Ha'ateiho	10	6	3	1	20
Kolomotu'a	6	3	2	0	11
Kolofo'ou	13	1	36	0	17
Ma'ufanga		1	1	0	7
TOTAL	75	54	33	6	174

423 Table 15. Class of tenure on town allotments held by sample households.

Village	Registered	Un-Registered	Temporary	Rented	Total
Haveluliku	3	5	0	0	8
Fatumu	8	13	1	0	22
Kolonga	9	8	6	1	24
Houma	4	15	2	0	21
Kolovai	14	1	1	0	16
Ha'ateiho	10	11	1	1	23
Kolomotu'a	11	0	1	0	12
Kolofo'ou	19	3	1	2	25
Ma'ufanga	6	3	1	1	11
TOTAL	84	56	14	5	159

Economy

433 The Tongan economy is predominantly agricultural, with a secondary dependence on fishing and, more recently, tourism.

463 Importance of Agriculture

462 162 According to the 1966 census, 67 percent of males over 15 years of age were employed either directly or indirectly in agriculture (Table 16). and 81 percent of Tongan women over 15 years of age are occupied with domestic chores

241 were more common (plantains and bananas are included as
244 staple crops here because they are not cultivated commer-
[245] cially on town allotments). In Nuku'alofa, these crops were grown on more than one-third of all sample allotments. Swamp taro was most common, possibly because of the swampy nature of the low-lying area of Nuku'alofa and the ease with which it can be planted.

241 The cultivation of all staple crops seems to be much
369 more widespread on Nuku'alofa town allotments than on the rural town allotments. There seem to be three major
[423] factors influencing this distribution. First, a higher proportion of people in the Nuku'alofa area have neither tenure or access to bush allotments(Table 48) and consequently depend upon the market and their town allotments as primary sources of agricultural products. Secondly, rural houses are generally closer to their respective bush allotments, which facilitates their use for crops which are
[685] especially susceptible to theft. Theft seems to be increasingly bothersome and, consequently, crops which can be grown safely on the nearby bush allotments of rural residents are often grown to a greater extent by Nuku'alofa
241 residents on their town allotments. Finally, probably
369 the major deterrent to more extensive cropping on rural
231 town allotments is the presence of free roaming pigs and other animals. In Nuku'alofa, it is illegal for pigs and other animals to roam free.

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Table 48. Nature of tenure and access to bush allotments on Tongatapu of households on 192 town allotments (113 in Nuku'alofa and 79 in rural villages).

Nature of Tenure	Nuku'alofa		Rural	
	No	%	No	%
Households with Bush Allotments	66	58	61	77
Households with Temporary Access to Bush Allotments	7	6	13	16
Households with No Access to Allotments	40	35	5	6
Total Town Allotments	113	100	79	100

241

Supplementary Food Crops

The range of supplementary food and beverage crops grown on town allotments included 25 different species (Table 49). Except for chile pepper and pineapple, the most important of these are anciently established plants such as edible hibiscus (Hibiscus manihot), sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum), the edible type of si (Cordyline terminalis), kava (Piper methysticum), lemon grass (Cymbopogon citratus), and species of the genus Passiflora. Other more recent introductions such as green beans (Phaseolus vulgaris), tomatoes (Lycopersicon esculentum), pumpkins (Cucurbita pepo), eggplant (Solanum melongena), and

241 And finally, livestock
369 husbandry was much more widespread on town allotments than
231 on bush allotments.

241

Current Trends and Developmental Paths

178 Based on the nature of the Tongan agricultural system
in 1971-72, there seemed to be some definite trends within the system and developmental paths that it might follow, all of which should lead to more intensive use of the land and increased productivity. Some of these trends or possible developmental paths include:

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Decrease in Leasehold Land and Expansion of Bush and Town Allotments

178 As leases expire, many are not being renewed and the
423 land is in some cases being subdivided into bush and town
[427] allotments. More recently, bush allotments are often four
acres in size and town allotments less than one-quarter
241 acre. The existence of these smaller allotments should
178 lead to more intensive cultivation, as was the case with
most of the sampled undersized allotments.

Increase in Scientific Farming Methods

[654] As a result of government encouragement and subsidies,
[242] there seems to be a definite increase in plowing and disc
[312] harrowing; the use of pesticides, fungicides, herbicides, and
fertilizers; the introduction of new crop varieties; the
use of fencing; and dependence on some form of irrigation.

241 178 464

Increase in Wage Labor

Owing to the increasing need for cash, the growing labor pool, and the number of allotment holders who have wage-paying jobs, there seems to be a definite increase in the number of households employing wage-laborers to work on their allotments.

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Increasing Cultivation on Town Allotments

As the pressure on land becomes more acute, dooryard gardens on town allotments will probably have a greater role in supplying the subsistence needs of the Tongan [241] [369] people. This trend is already evident in Nuku'alofa, where dooryard gardens trend to be much more highly cultivated than those in the less populous rural villages.

Increase in Permanent Dwellings on Bush Allotments

[423] Owing to the limited number of town and bush allotments, the inability of all eligible land holders in a given family to have legal rights to bush allotments, and the improved transportation system, there will probably be an increase in the number of households living permanently on the bush allotments, and a concomitant intensification of agricultural activities on these allotments.

244 178

Increased Cultivation of Non-Traditional Staple Crops

Because of their ease of cultivation and ability to grow on more impoverished soils, there has and will continue to be an increasing dependence on manioc (Manihot esculenta), American taro (Xanthosoma spp.), and sweet

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[127]

Appendix F. Hereditary estates on Tongatapu: titles, locations and approximate areas (Source: Records of Lands and Survey Department, Nuku'alofa and maps of the land tenure units of Tongatapu, which were used in the computation of the approximate area of Ma'afu's estate).

Nobles' or Matapules' Hereditary Estates

Title	Location or Names of Estates	Approximate Area Acres	Approximate Area Hecrares
Tungi	Mu'a, Fua'amotu, Kai'avale Ha'atu'i, Navutoka and Kauvai	8,617	3,490
Kalaniuvalu	Lapaha, Hoi, Nukuleka, Makaunga, Hamula and Toloa	5,734	2,322
Tu'ipelehake	Pelehake	1,892	766
Nuku	Kolonga, Poha and Kotongo	3,019	1,223
Ma'afu	Tokomololo and Vaini	5,000	2,025
Lavaka	Fualu and Pea	1,589	644
Fielakepa	Haveluloto	242	98
'Ata	Kolovai	587	238
Ve'ehala	Fahefa	553	224
Tu'iha'ateiho	Ha'ateiho and Vaikeli	1,827	740
Luani	Nakolo, Malapo and Fetoa	680	275
Tu'ilakepa	Talasiu	410	166
Vaea	Houma	2,199	891
Fakafanua	Ma'ufanga	1,116	452
Vaha'i	Fo'ui	466	189
Tu'ivakano	Nukunuku, Matafonua, Matahau and Vaotu'u	3,673	1,488

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565

Appendix F. Continued.

'Ahome'e	Ha'avakatolo	233	94
Fohe	Puke	432	175
Motu'apuaka	Te'ekiu	556	225
Lauaki	Talafo'ou	556	225
Lasike	'Ahau, Neiafu, Ha'atau, Kala'au, Ha'amea, Navutoka, Fonongahina, and Tafangafanga	825	334
Veikune	Longoteme, Matamoana, 'Oneata Island and Kanatea Island	646	262
Tupouto'a	'Utulau	1,521	616
TOTAL		42,374	17,161

423
643

King's Estates

Tu'i	Loto'a, Talakaipau, Sia-ko-Veiongo, Kanokupolu and Mataliku	955	387

423
644

Royal Family Estates

Royal Family	Finefekai, Pangaimotu Island	36	15

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GRAND TOTAL:		43,365	17,563

[1853 -1855]

The most significant result of the visit was the king's resolve that there should be no sale of land in Tonga, but only a leasehold system that would retain ownership in the government itself. Preventing the alienation of land to any foreigners was a vitally important policy for Tonga's future. 643 423

On the way to Sydney, *John Wesley* spent some time in Fiji for the sake of Robert Young's inspection. Tupou met Cakobau and advised him to accept Christianity. He saw how the spirit of rebellion was dividing Fiji and endangering Cakobau's authority. It was then that he offered to bring aid to Cakobau who promised to give him a large canoe, *Ra Marama*. The king returned to Fiji to obtain this canoe in 1855. 643 648 [797]

It has been alleged that Tupou was seeking territorial expansion in Fiji. At the time of the 1855 war there was nothing to suggest this. His relative, Henry Ma'afu, son of Aleamotu'a, had gone to Fiji in 1848 at the age of twenty-one, sent by Tupou to control the unruly Tongans. Ma'afu set out to profit by the divided state of Fiji and, when he conquered any territory, he divided the land among his followers, as, he said, William the Conqueror had done after 1066. Gradually, Ma'afu made himself overlord of a great part of the Lau group, with his seat of government at Lomaloma in Vanuabalavu. His subsequent rivalry with Cakobau helped to hasten the cession of Fiji to Britain in 1874. His methods of promoting Christianity also brought embarrassment to the Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji.

Tupou went to Fiji in 1855, ostensibly to gain possession of the canoe, *Ra Marama*, promised him in his 1853 visit. He felt it wise to take 2,000 men with him in case he was attacked. However, a stronger motive must have been the bolstering of Cakobau's tottering rule which was being assailed by rebellious chiefs on all sides.

The details of the Battle of Kaba on 7 April 1855 can be left to the section of this history dealing with the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji. The vigorous attack of the Tongans carried all before it at Kaba, the rebels' stronghold. Their Fijian allies, although they had not taken part in the attack, killed 150 people, including women and children, and they would have followed their custom of a cannibal feast if Tupou had not prevented them. The other Fijian rebel forts quickly surrendered rather than experience the Tongan shock tactics. If Tupou had not helped Cakobau, the capital, Bau, would have fallen and Cakobau's rule would have been at an end. Resultant anarchy would probably have led to the intervention of white nations. The restoration of Cakobau to his authority removed the possibility of a partition of Fiji among foreign powers, and when Cakobau eventually ceded his country to Britain in 1874 it was undivided.

After the war ended, Tupou and his men visited various parts of Fiji, with the numerous local preachers in the forces taking services. Everywhere they urged the Fijians to turn from heathenism. [797]

Up to this point, 1855, the case for Tupou's disinterestedness seems clear enough. With Ma'afu's increasing involvement and his growing success a change in the king's attitude seems to have occurred. He began to support the claims of Tongans to land in the Lau group. He also pressed for payment of £12,000 from Cakobau for the expenses of his intervention on Cakobau's behalf in 1855. W. T. Pritchard, British Consul in Fiji, obtained from Ma'afu, on behalf of Tupou, a renunciation of claims to land and any political aspirations (14

[1862]

West, then in England, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, 527
synchronized with this epoch-making year. 796

"All laws relating to serfdom are repealed" was the essence of the detailed 779
provision for the abolition of Tonga's old feudal system. What had been included 566
in the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was made explicit now, in spite of the reluctance 671
of many chiefs. Though the serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable to slavery under masters of another race, as in America, yet the ancient absolute power of Tongan chiefs over the lives and property of their people was out of keeping with the position of the country in 1862. The day of the warrior-chief had passed, and with the spread of education and the acceptance of Christian principles equal opportunities for commoners with chiefs had to be recognized.
Not only was the arbitrary rule of the chiefs ended, but the king's own authority [643]
itself was limited by the Code of 1862.

Under the new Code, land was to be allotted by the chiefs to their people. 671
All males sixteen years and over were entitled to their allotments, with right of 423
continued possession, provided that the rent was paid. The poll-tax was fixed at [622]
three dollars. (Tongan dollar = four shillings.) The rent to be paid to the chiefs
for tax-allotments was two shillings per annum. This system of guaranteeing land [651]
to all Tongan males has been followed ever since, only the scarcity of land and [427]
the population explosion in recent years preventing its full implementation. Salaries [652]
to judges and other civil servants were to be paid from public revenue, not from fines as under the old system. Customs duties were fixed.

4 June 1862 is commemorated also for the beginning of parliamentary 646
government. However, there was as yet no formal parliament and a cabinet was not formed until 1875. The first Premier, Crown Prince David 'Unga, was not appointed until 1876. Parliaments met very infrequently in the early period — 1867, 1870, 1874.

Much of the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was incorporated in the Code of 1862, 671
but it was also directly influenced by the Hawaiian Constitution of 1855, and the 177
advice of a journalist, Charles St. Julian, afterwards Hawaiian Consul in Sydney, who sent suggestions to the king.(24)

Shirley Baker, only two years in Tonga, but already making his presence felt, 797
was entrusted with writing out the Code. Whether, at this early stage in his 671
career, he did much more than that for the king is doubtful.

The missionaries had much less to do with the Code of 1862 than with the 797
previous codes even though the king sometimes consulted them about it. He 671
had reached the stage when he did not generally desire the same dependence on 643
their advice. Some years before this, Richard Amos, when writing to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, had represented the missionaries' opinion; "The king happens to have a will of his own" (26 October 1857).

Other differences appeared. The king's policy did not always conform to the
missionaries' interpretation of Scripture. W. J. Davis wrote to Eggleston that he [586]
had spoken to the king who wished to allow divorce and re-marriage after three years' separation, a provision that Davis regarded as "a violation of Scripture" (6 September 1861).(25) The missionaries regretted certain significant omissions in the new Code; adultery and fornication were punishable as before, but there was no longer a prohibition of native dancing.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1876]

> affair . . . The complaint of the chiefs is that they were not allowed to say what they wished." (86) 642

Baker himself wrote to Chapman, on 3 May 1876: 643 797

> "I must acknowledge that I have drawn out the Constitution and most of the new laws and especially the new civil code, and am putting them through the press, and hope to correct the last sheet this week. . . . I have never pressed anything upon the king." (87)

On 10 June 1876, Watkin again wrote about Baker to Chapman:

> "I am not envious in the least of his position in the Church or of his influence with the king — he is welcome to all . . . I am sorry that the Chairman did not consult his brethren when he was preparing the Constitution for the Tonguese. . . . As far as I can learn the feelings of chiefs and people are against the Constitution. . . . The Chairman (also) started *The Tonga Times* [a newspaper] without consulting the brethren." (88) [204]

The Constitution was more formal and detailed than previous codes. It had an admirable declaration of rights and also wisely provided for the royal succession. This avoided quarrels about the kingship such as those that were tearing Samoa asunder. Some had suggested Henry Ma'afu, son of Aleamotu'a, as successor, but he had been in Fiji since 1848 and was a British subject after 1874; he was considered only if the king's family became extinct. Even if 'Unga was regarded as illegitimate through being born before the Christian marriage of his parents, this would have been unworthy, and he was now recognized constitutionally as the heir-apparent, and his son, Ngu, was designated as 'Unga's successor. As it happened, both of them predeceased Tupou I, and Tupou II succeeded as the son of Ngu's sister, Fusipala. 642 643

Certain chiefs (twenty, later thirty-three) were recognized in the Constitution as hereditary nobles. This action pleased these chiefs who had been irritated by the loss of their power over the people in 1862. It created an aristocracy, an affluent element in a poor country, landholders from whom their tribesmen received allotments on payment of rent. It may also have occurred to Baker that the elevation of some chiefs to the rank of nobles would enhance his own prestige with this powerful group; and yet it was from this section that there came much of the opposition that brought about his downfall and ended his political career in 1890. 642 565 [797]

The leasehold system of land tenure was at the heart of the Constitution. It prevented the alienation of land and also any influx of European settlers who could have caused troubles like those which played a part in the cession of Fiji in 1874. The absence of European plantations removed any need for bringing indentured labourers from abroad, again a very grave problem in Fiji. Only the Tongan Cabinet could approve any lease to a European. The Parliament was to consist of 20 nobles and 20 commoners (later, reduced to seven in each case). As in the earlier Codes, the Sabbath was made a sacred institution in perpetuity. Adultery and fornication were still criminal offences. 642 423 609 [645] [427] [646] [527] [684]

Baker may have thought he had weathered the storms within the Mission staff as far as his part in preparing the Constitution was concerned, but his continued involvement in political affairs led to further controversy. He was assailed in the District Meeting on 11 December 1876 on new charges. A fiery and unstable young missionary, James Thomas, brought accusations which, at first, gave Baker an opportunity of turning the tables on his critics. James Thomas alleged that Baker had been "meddling with the politics of Tonga in becoming virtually king", "becoming the author of the new and existing laws of Tonga", 797

[1926 - 1975]

unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 161
1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated 162
in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten [674]
years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and [464]
industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land 162
in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences 423
of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May [797]
1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown 167
considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the 184
large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural 464
gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given 457
limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this 177
are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious 795
well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on
the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. 795
In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. 162
The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman
Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh
Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses
and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its 795
ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers 793
with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne
College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor
of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological
education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many
Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization 795
and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands [444]
Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional [212]
Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English
and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and [771]
community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

121 examines the impact of tourism on the Tongan economy and the social
457 and cultural problems associated with the advent of recent mass tourism.

The Economic Problem

433 Tonga is primarily an agricultural nation of small landholders. Despite
Government efforts to modernize and increase food production, the
natural resources of the islands are inadequate to feed the growing
population. For greater cash-flow, primarily to meet Tongan consumer
433 demands for Western products, Tonga has become an exporter of
439 agricultural commodities. It is germane to note, however, that foodstuffs
[177] (especially meat and chicken) account for almost a third of Tonga's
annual imports. In 1973, for example, total exports amounted to almost
us$5,000,000, with copra being the most important export (at
146 us$3,347,000). Dietary inadequacies among Tongans, occasioned by high
food costs, are best assessed by the Minister of Health who stated in 1973
that protein-calorie malnutrition is prevalent among young Tongan
children to a disturbing degree. In the same year seventeen cases of
severe "nutritional deficiency" required hospitalization, two of which
became fatalities.

458 Spiraling inflation has eroded Tongan buying power over recent years,
as indicated by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Established in 1969 with
435 a September base of 100.0, the CPI is based on the purchasing power of a
"typical" Tongan family earning less than us$37 per week. Heavily biased
towards food items (64 percent of all items on the index), the CPI has
risen steadily (Figure 1) to 172.4 in six years. Increases in food prices, both
domestic and imported, have consistently contributed most to this
upward trend. In one of the largest overall increases, 11.4 percent in the
quarter of June–September 1973, the fruit and vegetable component of
the CPI increased by 46.9 percent. In the second largest increase, 11.2
percent from December 1972–March 1973, this same sub-group of basic
staples increased by 33.1 percent, while the cereal subgroup (bread, flour,
and rice) increased by 31.6 percent.

464 Unemployment is another critical economic problem. In an island
world where land is extremely important, many adult Tongans are
without land. Although every Tongan male, upon reaching the age of
[882] sixteen (and becoming a taxpayer) is entitled to some "bush land" for
crops and "town land" for a home, there simply isn't enough to go around.
● [423] The Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that in
1966, 59 percent of all men over sixteen years of age who were entitled to
tax allotments were landless and, no doubt, this proportion has increased
by 1971. Even if the unused areas are used it may provide employment
for about thirty-four hundred men, still leaving thousands unemployed.

[1792]

in 1792 (Gifford, p. 86). We do not know whether she claimed this 175
for herself. She based her claims on the fact that she was a descendant 578
of the Tubou family. Her father was Maeliuaki (Cook 1803, IX, 643
p. 182). Her brother Mulikihaamea, who was *Tui Kanokupolu* until 644
that time, gave up his post and became *Tui Haa Takalaua*.[9] Tubou Moheofo's ambitions were frustrated by her cousin Tukuaho, who was in fact the strong man in the Tubou group, even though his father Mumui was still alive. He ousted the widow and her son Fuanunuiava from Tongatapu to the nearby island of Eua, where they remained for a short time. After this they went to the Vavau Islands where Malaspina met Tubou Moheofo, living near the tomb of Paulaho. He does not mention her son, however (p 244 ff.). The defeat decreased the prestige of the royal family considerably (Wilson, p. liii, 104). Thomson (1894, p. 321) is of the opinion that the quarrel is over
some estates. This motive may indeed have played a part, the *Tui* [634]
Kanokupolu being at the same time chief of the district of Nukualofa [423]
and owning extensive estates there (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 227; Farmer, p. 90, map). After his victory Tukuaho caused his father Mumui, Maeliuaki's brother, to be appointed *Tui Kanokupolu*.

This struggle was over when Labillardière and Dentrecasteaux visited Tongatapu. They mention the old Tubou as the temporal ruler of the island and they know that Paulaho had been succeeded by his brother — Maulupekotofa (cf. Gifford, p. 58; Collocott 1924, p. 166).

Judging from information from Labillardière (II, p. 163) this brother died soon after coming into office and the rule passed into the hands of his sister Tine, the *Tui Tonga Fefine*, as Paulaho's son was said to have been too young to reign. However, Tine did not succeed in keeping this power, for when the two Frenchmen arrived it already lay with the old Tubou (i.e. Mumui).

Probably we must explain this as follows: Labillardière did not quite understand these complicated affairs and that is why he tried to construe a picture of his own that fitted the situation. The death he mentions was Paulaho's. Labillardière did not meet the latter's brother who succeeded to the throne, nor, indeed, Paulaho's widow. An echo of her experiences is to be found in the Frenchman's remark about Tine "...who had not been able to retain the power..." (cf. Dentrecasteaux, I, p. 304).

A curious fact is that during their visit the Frenchmen saw neither 175
the *Tui Tonga* nor the *Tui Haa Takalaua*. The missionaries of the 643
"Duff" were luckier in this respect, for they met Mulikihaamea, the [797]

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[9] Gifford, p. 88, puts Tui Halafatai and Tubou Lahisii between Maeliuaki and Mulikihaamea in his list of *Tui Kanokupolu*. Cf. Gifford, p. 86, where he says that Mulikihaamea was *Tui Haa Takalaua* as well as *Tui Kanokupolu* but not at the same time.

/63 cont./

588 178. In 'Uiha/'Uiha, for example, five of the 82 marriages existing in April 1952 were common-law marriages.

423 425 The economic basis of the family is now generally individual land ownership: every male Tongan at the age of 16 may receive eight and one-half acres of taxable land (for cultivation) and property for his dwelling in the village. (179)

[593] 179. If there is no more land to be given out on one's home island, one may apply for it, for example, on Tongatapu where larger areas are still available. But most of the natives prefer to stay with their parents and share in working their land, possibly inheriting it, or they move in with relatives.

591 582 As a rule, therefore, the wife at her marriage moves to the place of her husband which he has received as his right or which he has taken over from his father or shares with his family. The two spouses either come from the same village, (180)

180. This is the case particularly in larger villages and on remote islands.

or one spouse, usually the woman, comes from /64/ another village or another island. Married couples seldom move to a new place. (181)

[823] [423] [425] 181. Besides a deeply rooted feeling for their home place, greater difficulties in the question of land acquisition by non-residents on most of the Tonga islands are the reason.

For example, in the typical village of 'Uiha of the Ha'apai group on the island of 'Uiha, (182)

182. A large village on a somewhat remote island.

of 61 married couples, both partners were born in 'Uiha; of 15 couples, two husbands and 13 wives came from elsewhere, and of six couples, both partners came from other islands of the Archipelago. (183)

/70 cont./

887 work along with them to the extent that they are able or disposed,
to and try to make themselves useful, the way they have apparently
always done. At the same time they enjoy the respect of the
younger ones. (202)

202. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 97.

177 Thus one may say that the old family structure of the broad
178 masses of the Tongan populace (including the commoners) has endured
with scarcely any change. Monogamy of commoners and the structure
[797] of their households were quite in keeping with the ideas of the
[595] missionaries who were the most important representatives of
[592] European influences during the decisive decades. Ancient Tongan
[585] marriage was strengthened by Christian doctrine, as well as by the
[423] church wedding, (203)

[642] 203. Including registration with public authorities.

and by individual land ownership (lifelong tenancy) resulting from the
new Constitution of 1875. The epoch that began with Christianization,
177 on the other hand, brought certain, to some extent decisive, /71/
797 innovations in family living. The frequent church attendance,
family prayers, and the absolute hallowing of Sunday, as well as
children's daily school attendance introduced by the missionaries,
created, at least temporarily, a new family organization. Yet even
[581] the most zealous puritanical missionaries have to this day not
succeeded in entirely suppressing the freer Tongan attitudes toward
marriage. (204)

[837] 204. Typical seems the case of the married Tongan F. who is an intimate friend of various girls and women of his village, and assured the author that for a long time after each nocturnal visit with his girl friends he was very careful to observe "whether anything happened from above"; yet he had to say that he never experienced a punishment from heaven for his behavior.

/92 cont./

553 rendered: "the coconut whose offshoot comes out of the sea, to take
551 root on the shore [whither it was driven]").

B. Village Life

a) Settlement and Community

361 The Tongans today live in villages. These differ in size. In
162 general, they have several hundred inhabitants. In the smallest
settlements on a few islands there are approximately 50 to 80 natives
632 living. The largest, "urbanized" villages, on the other hand, are:
[162] Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) with approximately 4500 inhabitants, Neiafu
(Vava'u) with approximately 2200, Mu'a (Tongatapu) with approximately
1400, and Pangai-Hihifo (Lifuka) with approximately 1000. In these
[464] larger towns many Tonga already work in trade, industry and government
[366] service; here there are rather large department stores and cars;
[493] Nuku'alofa and Neiafu have paved streets, also cinemas, and, in the
[363] former telephones and electric light have been installed. But here too,
[368] in the larger settlements, the majority of Tongans have plantations and
[365]
● [423] work them more or less regularly--to some extent along with other
occupations.

621 /93/ The following figures were obtained in average Tongan
162 villages
592
362

	Number of inhabitants	Households (cook hut & meals in common)	Living- (sleeping houses)
Nomuka......................	567	85	125
'Uiha ('Uiha)...............	647	100	143
Felemea ('Uiha).............	372	48	72
Fungamisi (Vava'u)..........	263	45	55

368 In an average Tongan village there are usually three or four churches of various denominations. (264)

264. Even on the island of 'O'ua (Ha'apai group)

/111 cont./

645 government, administers the departments of foreign affairs, education
647 and agriculture (in addition to telegraph and telephone service,
government printing and the government ship). The minister of police
controls the police, prisons and traffic. The minister for lands,
the minister for health and the minister for labor /112/ manage their
[893] respective fields. It is incumbent on the Chief Justice, besides his
judicial work, to have births, marriages and deaths registered, while
the finance minister is not only responsible for tax collection and
the expenditure of public funds, but is also chief of customs and the
postal system, and in addition supervises the "Government Savings Bank"
634 /cited in English/ . In the Ha'apai group and on Vava'u the government
is represented by governors. The individual districts are controlled
634 by district officers, while the villages are managed either by the
565 chiefs (nopele) who own the village land, or "town officers" /cited
628 in English/ (landless chiefs or commoners) who are appointed to this
423 post by the government.

651 Every male Tongan over 16 must pay an annual poll tax of 32 sh. T.
[641] (308)

[657] 308. In return, all Tongans have the right to free education in state elementary schools, as well as free medical care.

Other national revenues are: income tax, customs, rents and interest
on government property and investments, harbor and dock fees, license
fees, court fees and fines, as well as postal income. The financial
[652] situation may be described as sound; there are no public debts.

642 The present form of government of Tonga is thus a European-type
177 system which differs from a genuine democracy chiefly by the fact that
the royal house and the aristocracy are still to a large extent the
determining force, (309)

[644]
[645] 309. The crown prince (premier) and his brother

/116 cont./

642 given conditions, and is quite adequate to ensure all Tongans a quiet
177 and secure life, so the number of those who are discontent is small.

b) Distribution of Land

421 In old times, all land was the property of the Tu'i Tonga. He
423 granted it to the chiefs (or confirmed their inherited grant). The
643 /117/ chiefs in turn granted land to the matapule and the commoners
565 living under them. Within this system every land user was obliged
[651] to pay tribute to his "superior." It seems to have been customary
[428] that leased land remained indefinitely in the family of the one who
received it, for every heir of a chief's title had the ownership of
421 his land confirmed. The sons of the matapule and the commoners, by
423 a corresponding system, usually remained on the land of their
565 fathers. However, the chiefs had the right at any time to disown
the commoners living on their land or to relocate them. (321)

321. See E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 174.

There seems never to have been any community property.

423 This system of dividing up land and land ownership underwent
178 some changes. Through the decline of the Tu'i Tonga's power and
565 the civil-warlike confusion, some chiefs became quite high-handed.
[642] In the constitution of 1875 it was ultimately determined that all
Tongan land belonged to the crown and could not be sold. Only leases
approved by the cabinet were recognized. The people had a claim on
land for building and settlement, whereas much land was still at the
423 disposal of powerful chiefs. On October 24, 1882, conditions were
178 regulated insofar as George I created the new class of nopele (nobles)
428 consisting of big chiefs and mighty matapule, and gave these nopele
565 hereditary lands (tofi'a). (322)
643

322. Thus George I confirmed the inherited ownership of a few big chiefs (see E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 172).

/117 cont./

423 On August 24, 1894, George II augmented the list of inherited lands,
428 which was reconfirmed by Queen Charlotte on March 3, 1919. (323)
643

323. Ibid., p. 72.

648 At the advice of Basil Thomson (British Assistant Premier in Tonga),
423 the Crown, in 1890, secured for itself ultimate control of these lands as well, by becoming responsible for giving out portions of land and collecting the rent, and by possibly dispossessing the tenants on these lands.

423 Thus, all land is today the property of the Tongan Crown. There are two main types of landed property: 1. the large properties (tofi'a) of the government, the royal house, the nopele and a few matapule and 2. the leasehold land. The latter is subdivided into plantation land (api'uta) and the land for settlements in the village (api kolo).
423 Every male Tonga over 16 years of age (taxpayer) is entitled to re-
425 ceive one api-uta of $8^{1}/4$ "acres" /cited in English/ for planting
641 and one api kolo of 132 "square yards" /cited in English/ as his dwelling area in the village. If he applies to the minister for lands he receives this /118/ either on the tofi'a where he is already living or somewhere on government land. For his api'uta he must pay
423 the government an annual rent of 8 sh. T.,; (324)
427

324. This sum is occasionally waived. Thus, for example, Crown Prince Tungi Tupouto'a dispenses with the rent payments of the Tonga living on his island of Nomuka.

the government allocates the rent payment to the nopele concerned of collects it according to whether the tofi'a in question belongs to a nopele (or a member of the royal house) or to the government. The api kolo is rent-free. The lessee who does not pay the rent for his api'uta or does not comply with the conditions relative to its cultivation (325)

423 427 /118 cont./

325. Within the first year he must, for example, plant 200 coconut palms.

may be dispossessed. In principle, the right to lease the land received is valid for a lifetime, also for the widow of the lessee. After the death of his parents, a son may continue to cultivate his father's land; but no one is supposed to own more than one apai'uta.

427 563 423 Europeans may only rent Tongan land. They are not particularly encouraged in this, since the Tongan government has little interest in the settlement of whites in the Archipelago if they do not seem specially useful for the development of Tonga. However, there are a few European planters in Tonga who have leased their land for periods generally not exceeding 50 years. When the lease period runs out it may be extended at increased rentals; after the lease contract expires, the right of disposal naturally goes back to the Crown.

423 [311] This fundamentally excellent system of land ownership can serve to assure all Tongans an adequate livelihood, since $8^{1}/4$ acres of the relatively fertile land are quite adequate to feed a family well. The supervision of commoners by their chiefs in old [622] [634] times is today continued by the town officers (under the guidance of the district officers) who direct the natives to plant fixed quantities of certain crops. In this way the government wants to achieve an unchanging, assured subsistence for its people. However, most Tongans are independent enough to cultivate their land properly even without these directives, and usually they plant more than is recommended. The government's right to deprive the lessees who do not comply with these instructions is seldom made use of, and only in extreme cases. There are many plantations that are only occasionally visited by their lessees and that seem very neglected, and no one feels it is important to take the owners to task.

/118 cont./

423 The system which is basically ideal in theory, shows a great defect in its practical application insofar as not every male Tonga /119/ over 16 cultivates the leased plot of 8 $^{1}/4$ acres assigned to him. A number of natives control larger piece of land (or [431] several pieces) which they or their ancestors received as gifts from [425] a Tongan sovereign or a nopele, (326)

326. For example, as a reward for special services or in memory of a youthful friendship.

and which consists of their own api'uta and the api'uta taken over from another person (kinsman), (327)

327. Thus, for example, a man in 'Uiha/'Uiha cultivates his api'uta and that of his son who is employed by the government in Nuku'alofa; another man cultivates his api'uta and that of his father, which his five-year-old son is supposed to inherit, while his father in turn works the api'uta of his father. The second case, in particular, is not in the spirit of the law.

or that is land which has been additionally rented in a legal manner. (328)

[671]
[425]
[427]

328. Decrees issued in 1927 and 1934 gave the natives who relinquish their claim to a dwelling place in the village the possibility to lease 12 and $^{3}/8$ (or 15) acres of bushland for planting purposes at a reduced rent. With this the government wishes to induce natives to live on their plantations rather than in the village. However, only a relatively small number of natives have hitherto made use of this possibility.

Very many Tongans, however, --especially among the densely populated Ha'apai group--have either a smaller api'uta (of only two, three or four acres) or own none at all. The population density in the [161] Archipelago, exclusive of the uninhabitable land, very probably

/119 cont./

423 [161] [428] amounts to more than 200 individuals per square mile. The greatest density is in the Ha'apai Islands. There, for example, if there are three sons in a family, one of them (generally the oldest) usually inherits, after the death of his parents, the api'uta of his father (in addition to his api kolo) and the other two will often no longer be able to receive an api'uta of their own if they apply for it. [161] The Tongan population has grown very much in comparison with the past, and there is sufficient land available only on the large inhabited islands or on some uninhabited ones. (329)

[425] [427] (113) 329. In 1950, according to government documents, of the 188,975 acres available for distribution, only 78,345 had been given out (as api'uta to 8647 taxpayers and as lease lands to foreigners and Tongans). The remaining 110,630 acres were still available (minus the village and urban areas) (see Report of the Minister of Lands for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 1).

These two sons can get their own api'uta of 8^1/4 acres on Tongatapu or 'Eua, for example. But usually people prefer to remain on their home island. (330)

[162] [425] 330. On the island of Nomuka, for example, among a total population of 567 souls, there are 69 men who have a right to an api'uta, but are unable to get it because all the land has been distributed; they are staying on Nomuka even though they would be able to receive their api'uta on Tongatapu, for example. While all land claims must still be provided for within the Archipelago, 4307 taxpayers in 1950 did not take over an api'uta for the aforementioned reasons (see Report of the Minister of Lands for the Year 1950. p. 2).

[425] [241] People are attached to their islands and their kinsmen, and they may also dislike to clear virgin land. Thus they stay in their villages,

/119 cont./

423 live with their kinfolk and help them cultivate their land, or they
425 may take over a small piece of their api'uta (or land from another
241 villager) for temporary, independent /120/ cultivation, with the
secret hope of some day obtaining a plantation on their own island
(for example, if a person with no one to inherit his land should die).
463 Some of these "landless" individuals also specialize as fishermen, for
464 example, or they hire themselves out as workers in public service, or
they look for work as sailors on the many native cutters. In the
towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu amd Pangai/Lifuka a few Tongans pursue
definite professions in the government and in business, which leaves
them little time for cultivating the land, so that some of them do
not care to have land for planting allocated to them.

592 The unevenness of land distribution may be shown in the following
423 examples:

Of the 91 households owning land on 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai-Group)
3 households each with circa 2 acres (331)

331. The data in acres are estimates of well-informed Tonga.

1	household with circa	2½	acres
4	households each with circa	3	"
2	" " " "	3½	"
10	" " " "	4	"
1	household " " "	4½	"
5	household " " "	5	"
4	" " " "	5½	"
19	" " " "	6	"
2	" " " "	6½	"
5	" " " "	7	"
6	" " " "	7½	"
12	" " " "	8	"

/120 cont./

592 423 1 household each with circa 9 acres (332)

[425] [431] 332. A few households have more than 8 acres at their disposal because two (or more) legitimate claimants have received their own api'uta (for example, father and son over 16), others because they have been given the land as gifts, or an api'uta was additionally taken on by another person (see above).

3 households	each	with	circa	10	acres
2 "	"	"	"	11	"
4 "	"	"	"	12	"
1 household		"	"	13	"
3 households	"	"	"	15	"
2 "	"	"	"	16	"
1 household		"	"	21	"

Thus, on an average, one land-owning household in 'Uiha controls [621] slightly more than seven acres. Since the village consists of a total of 100 households (333)

[241] [431] [602] 333. Some landless individuals plant on the land of fellow-villagers, or else land-owners give products to their relatives who have no land.

there are just under 6½ acres alloted to each household. The land distribution in 'Uiha is apparently sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants, since each household has at its disposal enough food from the plantations of the village, and there is no dissatisfaction to be noted over the varying sizes of the individual api'uta.

Of the 32 land-owning households in Fungamisi/Vava'u 1 household has (circa) 3 acres (334)

334. The data in acres are estimates of well-informed Tongan.

1 household has (circa) 5 acres

/120 cont./

592 1 household has (circa) 6 acres

423 3 households have (circa) 7 acres each

8 " " " 8 " "

1 household has " 9 " (335)

[425] [431] 335. A few households have more than 8 acres at their disposal because two (or more) legitimate claimants have received their own api'uta (for example, father and son over 16), others because they have been given land as gifts, or an api'uta was additionally taken on by another person (see above).

/121/ 2 households have (circa) 10 acres each

1 household was " 11 "

2 households " " 12 " "

1 household has " 14 "

1 " " " 19 "

1 " " " 25 "

Thus, on an average, a land-owning household in Fungamisi has approximately 9 and 2/3 acres at its disposal. Since the village consists of a total of 45 households, (336) each household is alloted an average of slightly less than five acres. Here too the distribution of land seems to suffice for the needs of the inhabitants.

(621)

[241] [431] [302] 336. Some landless individuals plant on the land of fellow-villagers, or else landowners give their products to relatives who have no land.

423 659 This inequality of land distribution will become greater in the future as conditions become more complicated from generation to generation (inheritance of individual api as well as removals), especially since drastic measures on the part of the government in the form of redistribution are improbable because of the difficulties involved.

/121 cont./

000 involved. Moreover, the Tongan population is growing very much; the
423 dearth of land in the Ha'apai Islands will increase, on the other
(161) inhabited islands land will become scarce after one or two generations.
(311) However, the opening-up of the Archipelago's uninhabited islands, as
well as a few land reclamation projects along the broken-up coasts
(or in the swamps) of the low islands (for example, Tongatapu), and
above all an intensification of agriculture will always be able to
provide relief.

423 Without doubt there is the possibility that a greater difference
184 between rich and poor will develop as a result of the unequal land
578 distribution, and on the small, already overcrowded Ha'apai Islands
social tensions might possibly arise. Today, however, nothing of
this kind can be observed; the Tongans live their relatively peaceful
lives and no one gets excited if he sees his neighbor ending up with
greater profits from his copra work because of his large plantation.

423 European advisers and critics admit that the present system
178 of land ownership is basically good, given the present state of
agriculture. Yet they emphasize that this system is not flexible
enough to make room for possible changes (improvements) in cultivation
and in increased cattle-raising, which is scarcely possible with
8 ¼ acres. Since, for the natives, the present system of planting
(241) suffices and they find it most difficult to adopt new food plants,
(233) and since they show relatively little understanding for cattle-raising
even where there is an opportunity, a change in the system does not,
for these reasons, seem very urgent.

423 /122/ On the whole, it may be said of land distribution that the
177 ancient Tongan system was altered as a result of Europeanization and
the establishment of a Christian, democratic government. However,
423 this change occurred more in form than in kind. The present system
565 of land distribution, which seems somewhat strange to us, means a

/122 cont./

423 certain restriction on the properties of chiefs and above all on their
565 power; every commoner feels free, and no one is anxious about his
land, since the chiefs can no longer arbitrarily exert their power
over the people. Nevertheless, since the Crown has ultimate right
[182] to all land and gives out part of it to the nopele as feudal tenure
[425] and to commoners as leased property, the basis of the old system seems
[427] to have been upheld. Present-day land distribution can insure a
423 permanent settlement of the land and bodes well for the Tongans, to
425 remain by and large a farming people, even though the system, which
is good in theory, shows certain weaknesses in practice. With the
[432] legal prohibition to sell land, the present method of land distribution
[671] also gives the natives an invaluable protection against the land-aquiring interests of Europeans.

c)Administration of Justice.

69 A very considerable change took place in Tonga in the field of
178 justice administration.

In ancient Tonga there was no government regulated jurisdiction.
Judges, police, and prisons were unknown. A few offenses against
[784] taboo rules were not punished by the hand of man, for people believed
692 in punishment by supernatural forces. The various "cases" which came
565 up as a result of other offenses of Tongan customs and habits
681 (especially in the existing noble-commoner relationship) were taken
care of by the chiefs as they saw fit. In general, punishment was
681 meted out as soon as possible after the deed. The chief punishments
were: beating (for example, with the palm of the hand on the naked
back, with the fist on the head and face), tying (arms and legs for
days), and execution (for example, striking with a club or drowning
[565] in the sea with a leaking boat). Influential chiefs seem at times
[692] to have acted as arbiters. (337)

/139 cont./

000 342 177 436 (Fungamisi). As a result of the growing use of European building materials for the old-style Tongan houses and especially as a result of the introduction of the European-style houses, however, money takes on an increasing importance for the procurement of material in house building.

342 423 425 A Tongan who plans to build a house must of course, decide where it is to be located. If he has not yet obtained property in the village (api kolo) (371)

371. See p. 173.

from the government and does not wish to build on the property of a relative, he must hand in a proper request to the authorities for the 342 assignment of a plot of land. Meanwhile he will soon start building preparations, for these take a fairly long time. The preparations--as in former times--consist chiefly of procuring the building material and obtaining food supplies to feed the workers.

342 283 824 /140/Making sufficient quantities (several thousand meters) of coconut-fiber cord (kafa) for lashing the framework and for fastening the coconut-leaf covering is still an important prerequisite for building a dwelling in ancient Tongan style. The natives gather large 283 coconuts with especially long husks (niu kafa), remove these and divide them into four (eight) pieces which they place in a basket weighted with stones and lay in a shallow place in the sea for about a month. Then they beat them on a block of hard wood (or on a stone) with a stick or toa wood 30 to 40 centimeters long, in order to loosen the fibers and remove the crumbly material between them. After the fibers have been dried in the sun they are rolled in small bundles (372)

372. From 5 to 25 fibers each, depending on their thickness.

with the palm of the hand on the naked thigh (or between two palms),

/151 cont./

241 399. G. Forster, loc. cit. V. p. 150.

241 The Tongan today works the land granted him by the government
423 (api'uta). (400)

400. See p. 172 ff.

The api'uta are scattered over the islands (or rather, the districts)
with no special system, so that for example, a villager will have his
land in the northern part of the island (or district) and his
neighbor will have his in the south. For various reasons, not all
[602] Tongans have received the 8¼ acres of plantation land to which they
[427] are legally entitled; (401)

401. See p. 173 ff.

the size of the individual plantations varies, and some natives work
along with relatives or cultivate land of fellow-villagers to whom
they then give part of their harvest (for example, one-fourth) in
241 acknowledgment. Whereas in ancient Tongan times the chiefs exerted
656 authority, force and supervision over commoners who cultivated the
178 land that was granted them--especially for the benefit of their
[423] lords--, nowadays the Tongan government is the supervisory authority.
[565] By law, every owner of an api'uta must plant one-half of his land with
coconut palms and raise food plants on the other half (among them
plants of economic value), the kind and amount of which are specifically
[622] determined. The "town officers" /cited in English/ see that these
[634] stipulations are carried out--in accordance with the regulations of
the "district officers" /cited in English/. (402)

402. Regulation No. 11 of 1948 demands, for example, that the owners of individual api'uta grow the following:

/202 cont./

245 The entire copra production is carried out chiefly by the men.
[462] However, women and girls often help and even do such heavy work as
[857] splitting open the nuts and removing the meat. Children and old
[887] people of both sexes take part as far as they are able, especially
in the easier tasks.

245 Copra is not always and everywhere prepared in this way; the
258 drying huts are more widespread on some islands than on others, and
a number of Tongans, limit themselves to drying the meat of the coconuts
in the sun for several days. It is only since the second World War that
the Tonga dry the copra themselves. Before that the white dealers
bought the cut-up coconut meat from the natives and dried it at their
trading stations. Since they often bought large quantities and their
storage places were limited, they were not always able to handle the
copra carefully, and particularly during prolonged rainy periods they
stacked the "green copra" and the "dried copra" in alternate layers in
their warehouses, in order to dry the former. This method often
resulted in a dark and slimy product. Through the creation of the
[435] Tonga Copra Board /cited in English/, which permits the natives to
carry out the drying process themselves and gives them a stimulus for
good work by staggering the prices (for A, B and C quality), Tongan
copra has improved a great deal and has risen from almost the poorest
level of the entire Pacific to approximately Ceylon-quality.

423 According to present-day law, which has superseded the arbitrary
425 power of chiefs, every Tonga who is granted an api'uta (527)
245 527. See pp. 172-173.
656 must plant 200 coconut /203/ palms. In practice, however, there are
sometimes more, sometimes fewer palms on the individual plantations,
either scattered over most of the api'uta or concentrated on one-half
245 of the land. The copra production of individual families remains about
433

T /307 cont./ The old method of land distribution which on these Islands,
F 423 rested on the principle of group-ownership in pre-European times,
177 has not been changed as was the different system in Tonga where,
178 under considerable European influence, the monopoly of nobles was weakened in this area; in the Fiji Archipelago, native land belongs now, as always, to family groups (mataqali). After the whites took possession of the Islands the natives, of course, unlike the Tongans, lost a great deal of land. But they still own the greater part of the total area, and the British government strives to protect the Fijians from further loss.

F The administration of justice in this Archipelago--as on the Tonga
671 Islands--has changed very much in comparison with the past. The
692 English law (of 1875), which was altered in accordance with local
177
178 conditions and needs, and some ordinances and decrees (which, in
[191] part, are also meant to insure the continuation of the old way of life) are today the bases for adjudication which is carried out by the natives themselves (in minor cases) and by white officials (in the more serious cases).

F
342 As for the economic life of the Fijians, it is worth mentioning
177 first of all that in their villages they have kept their traditional
178 house construction to a greater extent than the Tongans. Some natives, however, have here too gone over to covering their old-style houses with corrugated sheet metal or to erecting European-style structures entirely of wood and corrugated sheet metal; they do this partly for prestige reasons (because it is "modern") and partly for convenience because these types are more durable and because they can /308/ thus evade the obligation toward frequent cooperative house-building projects by building their simply wood and corrugated metal houses themselves.

F
177 The household equipment of these natives, like that of the

G /318 cont./
177
643 ministers (premier, superior judge, finance minister) and with the
645 help of the Lukiko (native council). The governor of Uganda, as
646 advisory (or supervisory) authority which represents the Protectorate
G
635 power has a function similar to the "British Agent and Consul"
648 /cited in English/ in Tonga, but seems to be even more influential
T
648 than the latter.

G With regard to the distribution of land it is noteworthy that in
T
648 both kingdoms the English have safeguarded native land ownership, (49)
423
177 and that at the same time there were important changes in this area
G as a result of European influence. For, although the Uganda Agreement
648 of 1900 confirmed the landed property of the chiefs who happened to be
423 in power, a sort of fixed and private land ownership (over which /319/
177 an individual owner had absolute right of disposal) was created, which
G had not previously existed. According to the law, the commoners who
423 cultivate the land enjoy greater security, and the duties imposed on
241 them are less than those previously customary. Since almost every
[671] non-landowning Muganda has the ambition to buy the land on which he
[185] works and thus free himself from dependence on the big landowner, a
gradual reduction /in size/ (or distribution) of land holdings has been
brought about, whereby Buganda will gradually become a regular country
T
177 of small farmers. This development resembles that introduced in Tonga
799 in the last century at the instigation of the Wesleyan missionaries,
423 though with the difference that there the natives became tenant farmers
241 whose rights are legally attested and whose plots of land are properties
of the Tongan crown (and owned by the government, the royal house or
the group of nopele).

T
G With regard to the administration of justice in modern Buganda--
671
177

49. Moreover, Buganda seems to have had little power of attraction for white planters.

178 361 pattern. Villages, resembling the modern concept of population grouping, replaced the fortified structures, often being constructed on the original fortress site (i.e., Feletoa and Neiafu).

423 [241] It was during this post-civil war period that the present agricultural system, based upon land tenure, was initiated. Under a decree issued by Tupou I, farmland was divided into allotments of approximately eight and one-quarter acres, or 100 fathoms square. This 'api tukuhau, or rural allocation system, was available to all males over 16 years of age. In addition, the 'api kola, or urban allocation system, provided each family with two-fifths of an acre within a village, for housing. An alternative to the above permitted an individual to waive his rural and urban allotments, in exchange for a larger rural allotment of 12 3/8 acres.

361 [484] The bonds of communal living insured the survival of this nuclear village pattern, despite the fact that some individuals resided a substantial distance from their farm holdings. Within modern Tonga, this pattern still exists as a strongly bound unit, even though this often necessitates as much as 20 miles of travel from village to farm acreage (Kennedy 1958, p. 165).

361 162

Twentieth Century Population Settlement

The population of twentieth century Tonga can be divided into three groups, by pattern of settlement: (1) villages, (2) towns, and (3) miscellaneous groupings, such as school and church facilities.

621 Although the village concept is relatively new to Tongan culture, it serves today as the center of most social and economic

161 TABLE 4.--Projected Population Size of Tonga.

Year	Growth Rate, Percent Per Year				
	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5
1980	104,000	107,500	112,000	117,500	121,000
1990	120,500	131,500	143,500	156,500	170,500
2000	141,500	161,500	183,000	210,000	240,000
2010	162,500	198,000	234,000	281,000	338,000

for the forthcoming 30-year period (1980 to 2010). A growth of 2.5 percent, though not currently met, probably provides the most realistic estimate, though possibly conservative, for long range projections.

Regardless of the estimated growth rate used, one overriding feature becomes apparent when considering Tonga's population history and its projected future. It took approximately 100 years to double the 1840 population figure of 18,500. The 1940 population figure, approximately 35,000, required less than 25 years to double, resulting in 70,000 individuals. Projected growth rates (Table 4) indicate that the population will double again between 1966 and 1990, a period of 24 years.

162 The population composition of modern Tonga is homogenous.
563 As indicated within Table 5, 98 percent of the population is Tongan, while less than 2 percent is composed of other racial elements.
563 [423] [432] Throughout history, Tongan law has consistently forbade the sale of land to non-Tongans. Therefore, this non-native element is primarily

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suggested that a balance between land and sea resources is generally the determining factor (Maude 1965, p. 63).

166 Although it is in close proximity to Tongatapu, in-migration to 'Eua has only recently been of significance. Interviews with residents of 'Eua suggested two reasons for this relative neglect. Passage to 'Eua is often dangerous, owing to the reef which surrounds the island. In addition, there is a marked lack of seafood available to the settlers on 'Eua. However, with the lack of land and the increasing population pressure on Tongatapu, coupled with the availability of land on 'Eua, in-migration is expected to steadily increase.

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Population density, in relation to tillable land, is often determined by the degree of willingness on the part of Tongan nobles, to lease their holdings. In eastern and southeastern Tongatapu, large tracts of land lie idle or are used only minimally. However, in other portions of the nation, where landowners have been willing to lease, distribution is concentrated and densities are much higher.

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[161]
Table 8 includes population density statistics for the major districts of the nation. For purposes of discussion, population density can be considered at three levels: (1) uninhabited land, (2) areas of low density, and (3) areas of high density.

Uninhabited areas of the Kingdom are usually those lands which are either unsuitable for cultivation or restricted from cultivation by members of the nobility. The majority of the volcanic formations in the western Tonga chain are included within

311 recognize that the uninhabited land is available, but continue by
stating, "We have enough land."

311 Although Ha'apai and Vava'u include areas of low density
161 population, the majority of this land is located on Tongatapu, also
the scene of in-migration, population maldistribution and crowding.
311 While totally uninhabited areas on Tongatapu are few, there are
161 several areas of extremely low density, most often held by the
423 nobility and located within the eastern and southeastern districts.
565 The total amount of land held or controlled by Tongan nobility and/
or royalty is unpublished (Rogers 1969, p. 217), and estimates vary
000 from less than 50 percent to 70 percent. However, it is anticipated
that population pressure, building throughout the Kingdom and particularly on Tongatapu, will necessitate the end of such land
hoarding.

311 Natural factors may also contribute to the low density of a
161 particular area. Maude's assumption of a balance of "land and sea
resources" would seem to be the major cause. Though growing population pressure may necessitate a reordering of this concept, at
present it appears that a scarcity of seafood correlates highly with
low population density on adjacent land areas. This is particularly
noticeable in the smaller islands of Eastern Ha'apai, and in areas
[133] of Vava'u. However, the situation in Vava'u is compounded by the
inaccessibility of existing resources, owing to reefs and rocky
shorelines.

On the other hand, densities which are highest, excluding
urban areas, are located within areas where reefs provide an

CHAPTER IV

LAND TENURE

423 The Tongan land tenure system originated in 1852, following the conclusion of the civil war period of 1799 to 1852. It was at this time that Tupou I proclaimed himself to be ruler of all Tonga, and issued the two proclamations which laid the foundation for land tenure. Maude summarized these two proclamations as: (1) "No person has any title to lands in the islands except by grant from the government," and (2) "It shall not be lawful for any chief or people in Tonga (Tongatapu), Haabai (Ha'apai), or Vava'u to sell a
[432] portion of land to strangers" (Maude 1965, p. 62). Although the
[427] sale of land to foreigners was thus prohibited, leasing was per-
[609] mitted under government supervision, thereby satisfying the requests for land by Europeans (i.e., missions, traders, and refueling facilities).

423
565 The Tongan nobility received the first land divisions,
from Tupou I, in the form of estates. This land was to be leased,
423 in turn, to people residing in the vicinity of each noble. Thus,
427 the leasing system probably began shortly after these estates were granted, in the 1850s, and has remained intact to this day.

[651] The first significant step toward formal clarification of the land tenure system appeared in the code of 1862, with the

423 requirement that all foreign leaseholders pay rent to the Crown.
[427] In addition, non-ownership of land was extended to Tongans, as
[651] well as foreign residents. The code also borrowed from the earlier
Vava'u Code of 1839 the concept that people are entitled to
farmland, and that so long as tribute is paid, they cannot be
dispossessed.

The legal basis for this system was supplied by the Con-
stitution of 1875. Though revisions to the system have been made,
most notably in the Land Act of 1927, the fundamental provisions
of the 1875 Constitution, pertaining to land, have remained vir-
423 tually unchanged. All land remains the possession of the King,
425 who can grant estates to nobles. Nobles, in turn, lease parcels
[642] of land to individuals residing within the respective districts, as
[565] is needed. Land cannot be sold to Europeans or Tongans, and only
[427] leases approved by the government are recognized (Pacific Islands,
Vol. III, 1944, p. 58).

This system was further developed between 1875 and 1900,
the most notable modification being the regulation by the Crown of
all land rents (i.e., taxes), allotments, and evictions, initiated
423 in 1890. This legally limited the traditional power of the Tongan
425 chiefs and nobles. In addition, the nobles could not refuse land to
565 any person in their district. In other words, the government had
423 successfully solidified and reserved for itself, ultimate control
over all land.

423 Under the 1890 provisions, Tongan males, upon reaching the
425 age of 16, were recognized as being entitled to apply for a land

423 allotment. Two types of allotments were granted. The 'api tukuhau,
[425] or rural allotment, was 100 fathoms square or approximately eight and one-quarter acres. The 'api kolo, or town allotment, measured 22 fathoms square (132 yards square) and was designed for use as a dwelling and garden site. Portions of Tongatapu and Ha'apai were subdivided into units 50 fathoms square, to allow for
423 greater population density in select areas. In addition, the 1890
427 provisions made land liable to forfeiture if rents or taxes were
651 not paid for three successive years. Annual rates of tax equaled
[685] eight shillings per 'api tukuhau. Smaller allotments were assessed a proportionate rent, while no rent was paid for the 'api kolo.

423 In 1915, a minor regulation was added to the 1890 provi-
425 sions, whereby the government was required to notify the nobility
565 prior to making allotments from their estates.

423 The 1927 Land Act consolidated the existing laws and is the legal instrument currently consulted for clarification of land
[425] policies. This act also included provisions for granting a rural allotment of 12 3/8 acres to any applicant willing to forfeit his town site. This modification was probably designed to encourage more even distribution of population, plus increase agricultural
423 production. In 1934, the size of this allotment was increased to
425 15 acres, due to the lack of interest in the 12 3/8 acres. The 15 acres were comprised of a standard 8.25 acre rural allotment and a town site of 1.75 acres. In addition, an optional five more acres
423 could be leased for 50 years, at a minimal rate. Employees of the Tongan Ministry of Lands, as well as village residents, indicate that

423 neither allotment size has been popular to the point of significantly altering population distribution. While several estates were initially surveyed into 15 acre allotments, most have since been resurveyed to the stand eight and one-quarter acre size (Wood 1932, p. 74).

131 The estimated total land area of the Tongan Kingdom is 184,674 acres, or approximately 288 square miles (Report of the Ministry of Lands and Survey, 1973, p. 14). Approximately 40 percent of this total represents the Tongatapu island group. Vava'u and Ha'apai represent 22 percent and 18 percent, respectively, with the remaining 20 percent being volcanic and largely
161 uninhabitable. Population estimates of 101,608 for 1975, projected in the 1970 economic survey, allow 1.8 acres per person or an overall density of 352 persons per square mile (An Economic Survey
161 of Tonga: 1970, p. 10). However, a breakdown of Tongan districts
162 illustrates the maldistribution of population and land resources. Tongatapu, with over 60 percent of the total population, currently has a ratio of approximately 1 to 1.02 acres per person, and an estimated 1975 population density of 628.8 persons per square mile. Ha'apai, not including Tofua and Koa, shows 0.94 acres per person and a density of 685.6 persons per square mile. 'Eua, on the opposite extreme, contains 4.3 percent of the population, or approximately 4,370 persons. 'Eua is an estimated 33 square miles in size, resulting in a population density of approximately 129 persons per square mile, or 5.0 acres per person (see Table 9).

161 TABLE 9.--Population Density, and Acres Per Capita.
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	Population 1975 est.	Area Sq. Mi.	Density Per Sq. Mi.	Acres Per Capita
Tongatapu	62,794	99.85	628.8	1.02
Ha'apai	13,890	20.26	685.6	0.94
Vava'u	17,679	44.44	397.8	1.61
'Eua	4,370	33.76	129.44	4.97

SOURCES: *Kingdom of Tonga: Statistical Abstract 1972* (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1972), p. 2.

S. N. Fiefia, *Report of the Results of the 1966 Census* (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1968), p. 8.

An Economic Survey of Tonga: 1970 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1970), p. 8.

423 As indicated by these statistics, land is often at a premium
within Tonga. While the laws provide for an equitable system of land
distribution, differences between actual practice and theory in land
distribution, in view of population pressure, must be recognized.
Of 265 sample household interviews within the Kingdom, 51 percent of
423 the respondents reported to be landless. These individuals indi-
425 cated that the willingness of the estate holder to lease land, as
well as Tongan tradition, is frequently a more decisive factor than
the 1927 Land Act, with regard to land distribution. Many inter-
viewees suggested that land is rarely acquired in the manner stated
by law, but rather through a complex, and apparently corrupt, system
423 of barter and favor buying. This accounts for the fact that a
large number of Tongans are landless, while as much as 50 percent
of available acreage remains intact within royal and noble estates.

423 The same reasoning applies to historically prevalent variations in
[121] size of holdings.[1] Though an exposé of these issues is not the
intent of this research, they are, nonetheless, considerations with
[128] regard to population and land distribution. The following para-
graphs describe the land tenure system in practice, in contrast to
that outlined by Tongan law and theory.

423 Within the Tongan tenure system, there are two principal
565 types of land holdings--the estates of the royalty and nobility,
and the land allotments of the average citizens. The 1927 Land Act
[643] listed three types of estates: those belonging to the King, those
belonging to the royal family, and the hereditary estates of the Tongan nobility. At present, 39 nobles retain control, beneath the Crown, of 31.1 percent of the total land area (see Table 10). About 60 percent of the Tongan population resides upon hereditary estates. A few of the nobility retain possession of two estates or one estate and other small holdings. In addition, some holdings may be on more than one island, or fragmented on a single island. These features complicate the assessment of these holdings, in terms of land area involved, usage, and amount of leasing. Discussions with employees of the Tongan Ministry of Lands revealed that although the Land Act of 1927 requires the registration of estates and their boundaries, approximately one-half of the existing estates have not been listed.

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[1] The 'api tukuhau, or rural allotment, is most frequently 8.25 acres in size. However, sizes do vary considerably owing to a variety of circumstances, which need not be discussed, with regard to the tenure system. The average rural allotment ascertained through interviews amounted to 9.63 acres, with extremes of two acres and 48 acres being encountered.

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101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

TABLE 10.--Distribution of Land Ownership.

	Number of Allottees			Area Allotted (Acres)			% of Total Area		
	1969	1970	1971	1969	1970	1971	1969	1970	1971
1. Land granted as tax and town allotments to Tongans	21,259	21,721	22,186	66,906	67,024	70,573	41.5	41.5	42.7
2. Land leased by Native Tongans	712	879	954	2,159	2,171	2,771	1.3	1.3	1.7
3. Land under Crown hands	--	--	--	34,380	34,500	34,084	21.3	21.4	20.7
4. Hereditary Noble Estates	--	--	--	52,176	51,344	51,448	32.3	31.8	31.1
5. Foreign leases	--	--	--	2,088	2,378	2,222	1.3	1.5	1.3
6. Charity leases	--	--	--	3,721	4,031	4,104	2.3	2.5	2.5
7. Total land distributed	21,971	22,606	23,140	161,430	161,430	165,202	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCES: Report of the Ministry of Lands and Survey, 1969-1971 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer).

K. B. Cumberland, Southwest Pacific (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1968), p. 95.

Kingdom of Tonga: Statistical Abstract 1972 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1972), p. 95.

Note: Breakdown of tax and town allotments by acres unavailable readily.

● 423 This lack of compliance results from inadequate surveying, disputed
565 boundaries, and/or apathy.

423 In addition to the 31.1 percent of total acreage being
643 held by nobility, Crown lands account for another 20.7 percent.
This land, much of which is totally unused, includes the holdings
of the King and the royal family.

423 Another type of estate, of recent origin, is that desig-
[647] nated as government estates, under the control of the Tongan
Ministry of Lands. These consist of land which has not been
granted by the Crown to the nobility.

423 Thus, the estate is the primary unit in the division of
land by the Crown. However, beyond the breakdown of land owner-
ship within Table 10, an accurate accounting of land availability
[311] and distribution is difficult. It may be reasonably assumed that
over one-half of the Kingdom's total acreage is held in estate form,
with much being left unused or used below capacity. The uneven
distribution of population further complicates an analysis of
the Tongan estate system. For example, while estates in Vava'u
and 'Eua may show a capita per acre ration of 1:5, more densely
settled Ha'apai and western Tongatapu show ratios of 1:0.9. This
fact leads to an expectation of internal migration, resulting in
423 more favorable distribution patterns. However, landless householders
425 indicate that it is extremely difficult to obtain land in distant
[609] areas. This is in direct conflict with the principles of the 1927
Land Act, and emphasizes the influence of tradition and the unwill-
[565] ingness of nobility to lease land to those from outside their districts.

●423 The 'api, or land allotment, represents the second type of land holding in the Kingdom, being a subdivision of the estate. In theory, the estates are to be divided into allotments as needed. However, according to the Tongan Ministry of Lands, only the nation's major geographic features, such as roads and shorelines, had been surveyed prior to the national survey of 1958. Subsequently, few of the estate lands had been subdivided into the standard eight and one-quarter allotments prescribed by law and the presence of customary farm holdings, which were of a wide range in size and spacing, made implementation of the 1927 Land Act, in terms of land distribution, impossible. The national survey in 1958 greatly increased the number of available land allotments. Maude (1965) reported that in 1957, only 2,564 allotments, of eight and one-quarter acres, were available to 12,000 Tongan taxpayers. Table 11 indicates that by 1973, this figure had increased to over 15,000 allotment holders (*Report of the Ministry of Lands and Survey*, 1973, p. 15). Though the increase of surveyed and allotted land is impressive, over 50 percent of Tonga's acreage is retained by royal and hereditary estates, and the growing number of landless households persists. A recent royal address indicated that as many as 39,837 individuals had applied for only 13,017 available allotments. Based upon this data, there are twice as many men entitled to land as there are allotments available. This trend may reasonably be expected to increase, as younger population groups reach maturity.

423 Land is most easily acquired through inheritance of a lease.
425 (The most frequent explanation for landlessness, as reported by
428

423 TABLE 11.--Distribution of Land Holdings by Type.

Year	Tax Allotment Holders 'api tukuhau	Town Allotment Holders 'api kolo	Total
1967	13,041	7,186	20,221
1968	13,614	7,116	20,730
1969	14,065	7,194	21,259
1970	14,329	7,392	21,721
1971	14,615	7,571	22,186
1972	14,965	7,594	22,559
1973	15,152	7,828	22,980

SOURCE: Kingdom of Tonga: Statistical Abstract 1972 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1972), p. 95.

423
425 Tongan interviewees, was the lack of an inheritance.) On death of
428 the landholder, his widow is entitled to life interest in his land
[684] holding. This right is lost only upon remarriage or conviction of
423 adultery and/or fornication. If there is no widow, the land passes
428 to the eldest son, and in the case of his death, to his eldest son.
If there are no sons, an unmarried daughter may hold the land for
life.

423 With the average Tongan household consisting of 6.7 persons,
425 it is apparent that many males will not inherit land. Therefore,
[428] the only subsequent way to acquire land is through an allotment
which is vacant, or an arrangement for land usage with a noble,
relative or friend. Many interview respondents indicated that
vacant land is scarce in densely settled areas, in that no

423 allotments are unclaimed, or the surveying for allotments has not
425 kept pace with demand.

423 Acquiring a vacant parcel of land is also complicated by
425 tradition and the power of the estate holder, as was mentioned
565 previously. A noble may delay the registration of the leased
661 allotment with the Ministry of Lands, thereby enabling him to
extract favors and gifts from those using his estate. Several
farmers in Vava'u, responding to interview questions, reported having
agreed to lease land from a particular noble, and after paying
the customary favor, discovered that the land was already leased.
423 Many estate holders are reluctant to relinquish their powerful position.
425 Subsequently, the allotments which were listed in the 1958
[565] national survey as being available have been only slowly distributed.

423 The Tongan law requires a yearly payment of 80 cents to the
427 government or estate holder, by each farmer (Report of the Ministry
[651] of Lands and Survey 1973, p. 3). However, investigation indicated
that many rents are far in excess of this requirement. Frequently,
[436] farmers estimated their yearly rent to be more than ten dollars. In
many cases, rents are paid with gifts of food, such as pigs or yams,
or other material items, which are valued at more than 80 cents,
and make an accurate estimate of an average tax rate difficult to
determine (Clark 1974).

423 This situation may, in part, explain the widespread failure
427 by farmers to pay rent as required. Table 12 lists 1,241 allotment
685 holders, throughout the Kingdom, who have failed to pay rent, and
this delinquency continues to grow. Note that in 1971, only 1,034

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TABLE 12.--Nonpayment of Rents by Lease Holders: 1971 and 1972.

	1971	1972	Increase or Decrease in Numbers
Tongatapu and 'Eua	216	386	+ 170
Ha'apai	65	539	+ 474
Vava'u	691	225	- 466
Niuatoputapu	62	91	+ 29

SOURCE: Report of the Ministry of Lands and Survey 1973 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer), p. 3.

allotment holders were listed as delinquent in rents (Report of the Ministry of Lands and Survey 1973, p. 3). Several interviewees indicated that they had no intention of paying rent under the present system of collection. Since the regulation permitting eviction after three years of delinquent rent is not strictly enforced, the number of delinquent landholders is expected to increase.

423 The 1966 census reported that only 42 percent of Tongan taxpayers had a tax allotment, the distribution of this percentage being 39 percent among the larger Tongatapu population, 46 percent on Vava'u and 48 percent on Ha'apai (Fiefia 1968, p. 30). This variation in distribution appears to be related to the uneven distribution of population, the resulting uneven demand for allotments, and the fact that each year there are more taxpayers than available
423 allotments. A temporary solution, as indicated by interview
427 responses, involves subleasing from friends or relatives. This
[425]

423 subleasing is common throughout the islands, and most frequently,
427 payment is in a traditional means, such as an occasional basket of
taro or yams, or on a special occasion, a small pig.

511 Upon initial inspection, the information presented thus
423 far suggests a land shortage in the Kingdom. However, this inter-
pretation is not necessarily valid. When confronted by statistics
showing less than one-half of the Tongan taxpayers possessing
allotments, several qualifications must be recognized. Misalloca-
tion and maldistribution of land certainly exists. However, none of
the interviewed population, even in the squatters section of the
511 capital, appeared to be critically short of food. In cases where
426 land is totally unavailable for household cultivation of vegetables,
431 it is traditional to borrow or receive subsistence foodstuffs from
511 neighbors, friends, or relatives. In this way even the totally
landless Tongans benefit from garden produce. (Food quality does
vary within the Tongan popualtion, and this will be discussed
further within a later chapter.)

241 Borrowing land for cash cropping or purposes other than
434 subsistence food production is rare. In very few interviews with
[423]
[425] landless Tongans did the sale of cash crops contribute to the
income of the household, and this fact was often reflected signifi-
511 cantly in the income of the landless family. However, landlessness
should not be considered synonymous with poverty in Tonga. Land-
434 less households, though enjoying less agricultural cash income,
431 often receive income from more fortunate relatives, in the form of
gifts. (While the most frequent extra-subsidiary expense

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431 encountered in survey responses was church contribution, the second most frequent expense was cash gifts to relatives.) In addition,
434 landless households may receive cash from relatives working overseas, most frequently in New Zealand, though also in Australia, Samoa and Hawaii. In a few cases, landless households receive as much or more income from overseas sources than the total income of a landholding Tongan.

241 Additional alternatives open to landless Tongans include a
427 variety of sharecropping arrangements, the most common being an agreement to harvest a prearranged quantity of produce, for which no return to the landowner is made. A modification of this is the harvesting of the entire crop by the landless family, and sharing the profits, half and half, with the landowner.

423 Still another alternative enabling landless households to
427 obtain land is the paying for such through an unofficial rent system.
[685] The renting or leasing of land under this arrangement is, strictly speaking, illegal. However, use of land is often granted in exchange for gifts of vegetables, pigs, labor or even small amounts of cash paid to the landowner.

423 The landless element in Tonga is rapidly growing, and undoubtedly will become a major social and economic issue in the Kingdom's future. However, at present, significant or widespread social unrest related to the issue of land tenure is not evident.
423 Of those interviewed, 21 percent believed the present land tenure
829 system to be unsatisfactory, due to the lack of sufficient land. This opinion was not restricted to landless households, but was

423 829 expressed by landowners, as well. However, only 0.3 percent of the sample expressed the opinion that the tenure system should be reorganized. Though this appears to be contradictory, most informants, when pressed on the issue, implied that the land tenure system was based on tradition, and would not change.

511 Considering these features of the system, the following conclusions may be formulated. Although landlessness exists on a large scale throughout Tonga, few landless households suffer critical hardships resulting from land shortage. Most landless individuals consider their income sufficient for household needs. An occasional landless family enjoying remittances from abroad or who derive income from fishing or labor may even achieve an income level above that of the average allotment holder.

121 Land tenure must also be considered in terms of its role in the nation's agricultural economy. Although an in-depth analysis of Tongan agriculture is contained within the following chapter, its relation to land tenure can be considered within the framework of the [457] present section. The major issue which arises is that concerning the basis for the development of cash cropping, which is vital to Tonga's balance of payments.

241 245 245 Cash cropping has been largely confined to the production of bananas and cocnut products. This does not mean that other cash crops are being rejected, owning to land tenure. At the present, several attempts are being made to develop the cultivation of vanilla and [439] citrus as cash crops. Nonetheless, the great majority of export

245
439 capital earned by cash cropping is the result of banana and coconut
product sales.

245 Prior to 1965, the slowness with which allotments were
registered and the incomplete subdivisions of larger landholdings
423 hindered the expansion of both the banana and coconut crops. Many
informants expressed a reluctance to plant their land with such
long-term crops as coconuts, until their allotments were registered
245 with the Ministry of Lands, and their tenures secure. Large scale
banana production was postponed for the same reasons. Under these
circumstances, the cultivation of short-term food crops has been
conducted on land often sparsely planted or devoid of coconuts.
[654] Since 1965, and the initiation of the Coconut Replanting Scheme, a
major effort supported by the government, a marked increase in the
area planted in coconut palms has resulted. This, in turn, has
241 encouraged some farmers to cultivate bananas also. Therefore, it
245 appears that the basis for developing cash crop agriculture, within
the present land tenure system, is sound. However, expansion will
likely fail to meet its potential unless the tenure system is
strictly applied and implemented, as stated in Tongan law and
theory.

241 According to survey respondents, the single major limiting
433 factor to increasing agricultural production is the lack of land.
Many farmers expressed a willingness to increase production, if land
241 was made available and secure to them. Assuming this willingness to
423 be reliable, the tenure system limits the average farmer to eight and
433

241 Land tenure is also related to changes in the Tongan agri-
423 cultural system. The land tenure system in Tonga is the cause of
considerable social dissatisfaction and economic inefficiency.
Farmers are reluctant to invest significant quantities of labor or
capital in land, until secure tenure has been established, thereby
[565] reducing productivity levels. Since more than 50 percent of
Tonga's tillable acreage is owned by royalty or nobility, the land
available for crop production is severely limited. It is a general
opinion in Tonga that land shortage is the major restraint upon
improving agricultural productivity. However, land shortage in
absolute terms is not the case. The shortage of acreage is in
that which is made available to Tongan farmers by the nobility and
royalty.

241 Tongan social and cultural traditions are also an influen-
tial force upon agriculture. For example, many surveyed farmers
expressed a reluctance to increase production because of the cor-
responding increase in social obligations which would offset the
[426] effort. This custom of "borrowing" cash or crops, with infrequent
repayment, has caused many farmers to purposely curtail production.
In addition, growing urbanization has had an enormous impact upon
Tongan agriculture.

241 Despite the above, Tongan economy remains tied to agricul-
433 ture. This fact is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future,
178 despite continuing population pressure, alterations in cropping
patterns, and the increasing consumption of imported foodstuffs.

134 241 likely owing to the combination of a number of factors, both physical and cultural, not the least of which are rainfall, general weed and grass growth and the custom of burning acreage prior to planting.

The key to the maintenance of soil fertility in the islands under the present pattern of cultivation is the system of "bush fallowing" and close planting of crops which results in the retention of some humus in the soil (Great Britain Colonial Office 134 1956-64, p. 20). This, along with the soil characteristics described, make some minor leaching and nitrogen depletion the major problems regarding the soil's physical properties.

137 Vegetation is luxuriant and includes most typical tropical types with a number of superimposed imported varieties, particularly food producing plants. In addition to introduced food crops, an undesirable feature of plant life which has been introduced is weeds which pose problems for agriculture as well as being a bother to the human element (Pacific Islands, Vol. III, 1944, p. 37). The most significant of these are the grasses, including Nut, Guinea and Johnson varieties (Jansen 1973).

311 313 Forestry potential presents perhaps the most valuable aspect of natural vegetation aside from food production. The total area of all forest lands comprises approximately 26,000 acres which are con-[423] [655] fined to the islands of 'Eua and Vava'u. This resource is owned and managed by the government. However, it is presently of little commercial value due to the problems of resource inaccessibility and 313 transportation of the milled production. Most activity in this

511
178 pressures of population upon the land. The result of this pressure
[439] is seen in part in a growing dependency on imported foodstuffs.

457 Exports have been the only significant source of income
for the Kingdom, though earnings from tourism and overseas remittances
439 are becoming increasingly important. Of this trade, copra, bananas, and pineapples represent the only items traded in quantity internationally. Copra currently accounts for more than 70 percent of the total exports and, therefore, the export income of Tonga is largely at the mercy of fluctuations in world copra prices (Kennedy 1968, p. 20; Britten 1968, p. 53).

439 A diversification of export crops is possible under existing
[131] environmental conditions. However, the isolation of Tonga from international trade routes coupled with distance from markets make large scale diversification unlikely in the near future.

423 Fundamental in the economy of any agricultural nation is the
[643] policy formation regulating land use by the native element. In Tonga, ultimate title to all land rests with the King. However, every individual is entitled to an eight and one-qaurter acre farm lot and a two-fifths acre town lot. Obviously, in light of the growing population situation, the plan cannot work as the policy intends. However, in the past the policy had the effect of allowing most people the opportunity to plant and earn a subsistence
423 living from the earth. The law, at present, states that males
641 upon reaching 16 years of age are required to register with the
[651] government for tax purposes. At the same time, all are invited to

423 register for their land allotment called an "'api." However, with
641 the upsurge in populaton, there simply is not enough land to go
[162] around. The King of Tonga, in a report to the nation's Legislative
Assembly (October, 1967) told of "39,837 males in the Kingdom who are, or will be, entitled to tax allotments, there are currently only 13,017 allotments to distribute to them" ("There's Not Enough Land . . ." 1967, p. 37).